Towards a History of Architecture in the Caribbean

A study on frameworks and writing methods in architectural historiography.

Aruba, Bonaire, Curaçao, Saba, St. Eustatius, and St. Maarten

Ichmarah Kock

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Introduction

The publication of the book *Bouwen op de wind*[1] in 2007 had a great impact on my interest in the history of architecture in the Caribbean. Written by two Dutch architectural historians, the book is a result of a comprehensive research on the history of architecture on Aruba in relation to its culture. *Bouwen op de wind* is the first survey textbook on Aruba's historic architecture. The same year of its publication, I started with my bachelor's programme in Art History at the University of Groningen. However, during my second year, when I chose to specialise in the History of Architecture programme, I started noticing the absence of historic architecture from other parts of the world in the academic curricula, such as on the African and Asian continent and Central and South America. However, what surprised me the most was the complete absence of the Caribbean islands in the academic curricula. Especially the six former islands of the Netherlands Antilles in the Caribbean that, together with the Netherlands, form part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. When proposing my bachelor thesis topic on architectural history of Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao during the final year of my bachelor's programme, a professor reacted with: *"Dat is toch niet interessant!"* ("That is not interesting!"). Perhaps the architectural history professor was right. Or his reaction could be the result of being trained in Western European academia to consider all architecture from a fixed Eurocentric perspective. According to a recent study in 2002 on the teachings of the history and theory of architecture, and the architectural historiography in the Netherlands and Belgium, by Heynen and De Jonge, universities in the Netherlands focus on common Western European traditions. This means that courses on architecture outside the Western European traditions are rarely offered as part of the basic academic curriculum.[2]

This West European tradition "is based on the knowledge produced by a few men from five countries in Western Europe […]", according to Ramón Grosfoguel, professor in the Ethnic Studies Department at the University of California in Berkley.[3] Grosfoguel includes the United States as part of this Western European tradition together with Italy, Germany,

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[1] Olga van der Klooster grew up on Aruba during her childhood. English translation of the book title: "To build on the wind". Olga van der Klooster and Michel Bakker, *Bouwen op de Wind. Architectuur en Cultuur van Aruba*, (Bloemendaal: Stichting Libri Antilliani, 2007).

[2] Heynen and De Jonge are both professors at KU Leuven, Department of Architecture. Hilde Heynen and Krista de Jonge, "The Teaching of Architectural History and Theory in Belgium and the Netherlands," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 61, no. 3 (September, 2002): 337, 340.

[3] Ramón Grosfoguel, "Epistemic Racism/Sexism, Westernized Universities and the Four Genocides/Epistemicides of the Long Sixteenth Century," in *Eurocentrism, Racism and Knowledge. Debates on History and Power in Europe and The America's* ed. by Marta Araújo and Silvia Rodríguez Maeso (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, United Kingdom; New York, United States of America, 2015), 23, 24.

England and France. This knowledge resulted in epistemic privilege to the point that it is considered superior today in comparison to the knowledge produced by other countries, especially those outside the European and North American borders.[4] Grosfoguel's and other writers' essay on the topic of Eurocentrism are bundled in a recently published book *Eurocentrism, Racism and Knowledge. Debates on History and Power in Europe and The America's*. The book's editors, Marta Araújo and Silvia Rodriguéz Maeso, who are two Senior Researchers at the Centre for Social Studies in Coimbra, Portugal, consider Eurocentrism as a paradigm for interpreting a reality.[5] This reality uncritically establishes the idea of European and Western historical progress or achievement, and political and ethical superiority[6]. Eurocentrism, according to Araújo and Rodríguez Maeso, is rooted in both the Eurocentred colonisation of America in the fifteenth and sixteenth century, as well as in two interrelated processes: (1) the production of colonial classification, based on the "Western idea of man", in the distribution of human race, and (2) the gradually establishing capital accumulation to be a global standard of labour and market control.[7] The authors do not delve into the latter process.[8]

By studying the written history of architecture, it became apparent to some architectural historians, such as Gülsüm Baydar Nalbantoglu and Sibel Bozdogan, that global historic architecture has been researched within the Eurocentric framework for a long time.[9] With critical debates on this topic, both Baydar and Bozdogan have raised awareness on a framework that is more inclusive and on different writing methods.

A recently published book by Dutch professor Petra Brouwer reveals that the idea of dominant architectural styles has not always been attributed to Western Europe. In her book, Brouwer researched the epistemological revolution of the history of architecture throughout

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[4] Gosfoguel, "Epistemic Racism/Sexism," 24.

[5] Marta Araújo and Silvia Rodríguez Maeso, "Eurocentrism, Political Struggles and the Entrenched *Will-to-Ignorance*: An Introduction," in *Eurocentrism, Racism and Knowledge. Debates on History and Power in Europe and The America's* ed. by Marta Araújo and Silvia Rodríguez Maeso (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, United Kingdom; New York, United States of America, 2015), 1.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Araújo and Rodríguez Maeso, "Eurocentrism, Political Struggles and the Entrenched *Will-to-Ignorance*," 2; Consult "Further readings" list: Sylvester A. Johnson, *African American Religions: 1500 – 2000: Colonialism, Democracy and Freedom* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 392.

[8] Capital accumulation was a result of the trading in African slaves and their produced commodities, such as sugar. Catia Antunes and Filipa Robeira da Silva, "Amsterdam Merchants in the Slave Trade and African Commerce, 1580s – 1670s," *Tijdschrift voor Sociale en Economische Geschiedenis* 9, no. 4 (2012): 3 – 30, accessed August 4, 2016, http://www.tseg.nl/2012-4/.

[9] Gülsüm Baydar Nalbantoglu, "Toward Postcolonial Openings: Rereading Sir Banister Fletcher's 'History of Architecture,'" *Assemblage*, no. 35 (April, 1998): 6 – 17.

Sibel Bozdogan, "Architectural History in Professional Education: Reflections of Postcolonial Challenges to the Modern Survey," *Journal of Architectural Education* 52, no. 4 (May, 1999): 207 – 215, accessed March 3, 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1425410.

nineteenth century Dutch architectural books. The results of her research reveal that there was a geographical shift in historic textbooks discussing architectural styles from the "East" to the "West".[10] Initially, the aesthetic architectural styles originated from "Eastern civilisations". However, there was no continuous development of architectural aesthetics in "Eastern civilisations" for centuries. This contrasted with the situation in the "West" where both the civilisation and the architectural aesthetics kept developing, resulting in a shift of focus in architectural historiography. An example of stagnation of architectural aesthetic development in the "East" can be found in China, which was called "*het land der grooten stilstand*" (the country of the big standstill) by nineteenth century writers of architectural history. According to these writers, this standstill is also perceived in Chinese architecture: It remained unchanged which made it difficult to distinguish between old and new buildings. While Brouwer's emphasis is on nineteenth century architectural historiography, publications on architectural history in the twentieth century still seemed to have kept this idea of "a standstill of architectural aesthetic development" of a civilisation as being insignificant. Therefore, the civilisation was not considered to be part of the documented historic architecture. Alternatively, some publications dedicated several pages to these civilisations, but from an inferior position relative to Western European historic architecture.

Historic architecture was commonly written by art and architectural historians, especially during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, from the "period-styles" writing method; a method aiming at understanding architectural history on the basis of the changes of appearances and visual characteristics over time in chronological order in Western Europe.[11] In accordance with the period-styles method, these changes happened through chronological development of architectural styles and aesthetics, each supported with their own ideas or theories of building: Romanesque, Gothic, Renaissance, Baroque, Neoclassicism, Modern Art. By studying historiography of architectural history, a change is observed. Before the last decades of the nineteenth century and throughout the whole twentieth century, architectural history was mainly focused on specific styles, materials, iconic movements and paradigms, and famous architects.[12] This traditional focus within the architectural history discipline

[10] Petra Brouwer, De wetten van de bouwkunst: Nederlandse architectuurboeken in de negentiende eeuw, (Rotterdam: NAi Uitgevers, 2011), 236, 237, 287.

[11] Andrew Leach, *What is Architectural History?* (Cambridge, Malden: Polity Press, 2010), 45.

[12] Carola Hein, "Exploring Architectural History Through Petroleumscapes of the Randstad to Imagine New Fossil-free Futures," *Bulletin Kunsthistorici – Vereniging van Nederlandse Kunsthistorici* 3: 27, accessed May 13, 2016, http://www.kunsthistorici.nl/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/Kunsthistorici-2015-3.pdf.

shifted in the twenty-first century, following examples of other fields of history. These other fields of history began to focus on different and new approaches towards exploring themes, such as cross-cultural exchanges. Especially during the 1980s and 1990s, the Eurocentric framework, also known as the Western framework, within the (different) field(s) of history was highly criticised, resulting in an ongoing critical debate.

A brief overview of historical, geographical and linguistic facts

The Dutch colonised Curaçao in 1636. During that time, Curaçao and the other five islands were referred to as *Curaçao en Onderhorigheden* (Curaçao and Dependencies).[13] Decolonisation in 1954, has led to the introduction of the Charter for the Kingdom of the Netherlands; the island territories were renamed "the Netherlands Antilles" (*de Nederlandse Antillen*).[14] The former Netherlands Antilles had their own government seated on Curaçao since colonisation. Not long after, Aruba objected to the dependency disadvantages that came with being part of the Netherlands Antilles, and wanted to make its own decisions within the Kingdom without having to firstly go through the bureaucratic processes via Curaçao. This resulted in the so called *Status Aparte* in 1986, in which Aruba received an autonomous status within the Kingdom and, thus, was not part of the Netherlands Antilles anymore. From 1986 onwards, the Kingdom of the Netherlands consisted of the Netherlands, the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba. On October 10, 2010, both Curaçao and St. Maarten also gained *Status Aparte*, while Bonaire, Saba and St. Eustatius became special municipalities of the Netherlands (also known as *BES-eilanden* in which 'BES' refers to the first letter of each island).[15]

The islands in the Caribbean are geographically divided between the Greater Antilles and the Lesser Antilles. The difference lies in the relatively disproportionate sizes between the islands. The larger islands are part of the Greater Antilles: Cuba, Hispaniola (consisting of Haiti and the Dominican Republic) and Jamaica. The Lesser Antilles consists of all the other Caribbean islands that are smaller than the islands of the Greater Antilles (Figure 1). In English, the islands of the Lesser Antilles are divided into the "Windward" and "Leeward"

[13] Gert Oostindie and Inge Klinkers, *Decolonising the Caribbean. Dutch Policies in a Comparative Perspective* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2003) ,58, 60, 61,64, 65.

[14] J. Hartog, *De geschiedenis van twee landen. De Nederlandse Antillen en Aruba* (Zaltbommel: Europese Bibliotheek, 1993), 45 – 51.

[15] "Statuut voor het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden. Geldend van 10-10-2010 t/m heden - BWBR0002154," wetten.nl, accessed July 1, 2016, http://wetten.overheid.nl/BWBR0002154/2010-10-10#Paragraaf1.

Figure 1. "Map of the Caribbean islands".
Copyright by The Definitive Caribbean Guide, accessed August 2, 2016, http://www.definitivecaribbean.com/caribbean-map.

islands, which are nautical terminologies referring to the position of the islands relative to the northeastern wind flow.[16] The "Leeward"

islands of the former Netherlands Antilles include Saba, St. Eustatius and St. Maarten, which are English speaking islands. The islands Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao are not categorised by these nautical terminologies in the English language. However, in Dutch, Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao are called *Benedenwindse eilanden,* which translates to "Leeward" islands. Meanwhile Saba, St. Eustatius and St. Maarten are called *Bovenwindse eilanden,* which translates to "Windward" islands. The inhabitants of Saba, St. Eustatius and St. Maarten rather use the Dutch terminology translated into English: "Windward" islands.[17] To avoid confusion, this thesis follows the English terminology when discussing books that utilise the nautical terms. Nonetheless, in this paper these applied terms are between quotation marks, illustrating that the author of this thesis does not necessarily agree with the use of the terminology that indicates the locality of an island group.

Other terminologies that are used in this thesis are "Anglophone", "Francophone", and "Hispanophone" Caribbean islands, referring to the English, French and Spanish speaking islands, respectively. However, these terms cannot be applied to the islands Aruba, Bonaire

[16] Luc Alofs et al., Geschiedenis van de Antillen. Aruba, Bonaire, Curaçao, Saba, Sint Eustatius, Sint Maarten (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1997), 22.
[17] C.L. Temminck Groll and W. van Alphen, The Dutch overseas, architectural survey: mutual heritage of four centuries in three continents (Zwolle: Uitgevrij Waanders, 2002), 306.

and Curaçao, since the main language is *Papiamento* or *Papiamentu*; not English, nor French, nor Spanish.[18] When referring to these three islands, they will be specified by name.

Most of the discussed publications refer to the Anglophone Caribbean islands as "(British) West Indies" and its inhabitants as "(British) West Indian". These aforementioned terminologies have been used since the period of colonisation and imperialism[19] and are rooted in the period when Columbus mistakenly believed he found Asia or the "Indies" through another nautical route from Europe, but in actuality arrived in the Caribbean. He named the local inhabitants of the Caribbean islands "Indians", hereby referring to the inhabitants of the "Indies".[20] "West Indians" were defined [and still are, by themselves or by others] as being born in the "West Indies" or Guyana.[21] The use of the colonial terms "West Indies" and "West Indian" contributes to the Eurocentric perspective of the Caribbean. Where does the Eurocentrism lie in the terminologies? Firstly, it lies in the imperial geographical classification of the regions by their orientation relative to Europe, with the Asian continent in the East.[22] Secondly, most of the former British colonial territories in the Caribbean are not fully independent from the United Kingdom. However, naming them by the colonial label is politically not accurate.

Reasons to study this area

A comprehensive research is yet to be done to document the former Netherlands Antilles' (and also the Caribbean) historic architecture in its totality instead of from a one-sided factual and Eurocentric framework. This is especially the case in relation to the status quo of the perspectives and frameworks of historic architecture of the former Netherlands Antilles.

An example of this one-sided European perspective is the status of the World Heritage historic inner city capital of Curaçao, Willemstad. This historic inner city is being claimed to

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[18] *Papiamento* on Aruba or *Papiamentu* on Bonaire and Curaçao is a language developed during the colonial period and rooted in the dialects of Spanish, Portuguese, and West-African languages. Since 2003, *Papiamento* has been the official language on Aruba in conjunction with Dutch. Consult "Further readings" list for the following information resources (in the *Papiamento* language): Papiamento.aw, "Papiamento – Historia," accessed August 11, 2016, http://papiamento.aw/main/papiamento/historia.html; Papiamento.aw, "Papiamento – Status Actual," accessed August 11, 2016, http://papiamento.aw/main/papiamento/status-actual.html.

[19] Consult "Further readings" list: Eric Doumerc, *Caribbean Civilisation. The English-speaking Caribbean since independence* (Toulouse, France: Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 2003), 15, 16.

[20] Ibid.

[21] "Consult "Further readings" list (first published in 2010): Martin Bulmer, Julie Gibbs and Laura Hyman, *Social measurements through social surveys: an applied approach* (Oxon, United Kingdom; New York, United States: Routledge, 2016), 112.

[22] Consult "Further readings" list: Lara Putnam, *Radical moves: Caribbean migrants and the politics of race in the Jazz age* (Chappel Hill: University Press of California, 2013), 20.

be one of the Dutch World Heritage or *Werelderfgoed in Nederland*, by the Stichting Werelderfgoed Nederland; a foundation that promotes both the Dutch and the Curaçaoan World Heritage.[23] Unlike other Dutch World Heritage, such as the Van Nelle Factory in Rotterdam, The Amsterdam Canal belt, the Rietveld Schröderhouse in Utrecht or the Kinderdijk-Elshout Windmill complex, the historic inner centre of Willemstad is almost never mentioned or treated as part of a course in the History of Architecture programmes, let alone the historic architecture of the other former islands of the Netherlands Antilles that do not have a World Heritage status.[24] The following questions regarding the World Heritage status of the historic inner city of Willemstad, the Eurocentric perspective are challenged and put to a critical debate: (1) Is this a matter of a Eurocentric perspective in which Willemstad is interpreted in terms of Dutch (read: Eurocentric) values and experiences? (2) Are the other islands within the Dutch Kingdom also seen from a Dutch perspective? This will add to the debate that has already almost forty years ago in the United Kingdom.

From my point of view, the aforementioned critically raised questions can be answered if architectural history does not limit its framework to Eurocentrism or the period-styles writing method, or any other paradigm that limits the total representation of the diverse historic architectural developments of any country. Before answering these questions, it is necessary to have knowledge of the architectural history of the former Netherlands Antilles in terms of current perspectives, frameworks and writing methods. To date, an in depth analysis and comparative study on the perspectives, frameworks and writing methods regarding the architectural historiography of the six islands has never been researched before. Therefore, the current study is meant to contribute to the existing literature and serve as a basis for further in depth research on this topic.

Research relevancy

This thesis serves as a basis for understanding the challenges and debates on perspectives and frameworks within the architectural history discipline in relation to the former Netherlands Antilles and the entire Caribbean. Especially since in the Netherlands this topic

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[23] "Dutch world heritage," Stichting Werelderfgoed Nederland, accessed August 5, 2016, http://www.werelderfgoed.nl/en; "Werelderfgoed in Nederland," Stichting Werelderfgoed Nederland, accessed August 5, 2016, http://www.werelderfgoed.nl/werelderfgoed.

[24] "Werelderfgoed in Nederland," Stichting Werelderfgoed Nederland, accessed June 27, 2016, http://werelderfgoed.nl/werelderfgoed.

is yet to be touched upon within the academic teaching programme of the History of Architecture.

Not only are the framework and writing method relevant, but also the aims of the documentation of historic architecture of the former Netherlands Antilles. The majority of the available publications aim at documenting and categorising the historic buildings as monuments that need to be preserved or are already preserved. However, three questions arise from the analysis of these publication: (1) What does this mean for the history of architecture of the former Netherlands Antilles? (2) Does the aim on preservation also result in a limited overview of the historic architecture? (3) Does the history of architecture in the former Netherlands Antilles entail solely preserved monuments?

The aim of this thesis is to raise awareness on the role of the different historic developments and events that have taken place on an intra-insular and an inter-insular level in the Caribbean, thereby influencing the architecture in the whole region.

With this information provided, the central research question for this epistemic study is as follows: Are the established Eurocentric framework and "period-styles" writing method present in the twentieth century architectural historiography of the six Caribbean islands within the Kingdom of the Netherlands?

To answer this question, I have chosen to compare the existing literature of the historic architecture of the former Netherlands Antilles to that of the former British and Spanish colonial islands in the Caribbean; all the islands in the Caribbean have a relatively similar inter-insular colonial history. Prior to this comparison, I will critically compare how perspectives, frameworks and writing methods in architectural historiography have developed and have been challenged in Spain, the Netherlands and especially in the United Kingdom since the early twentieth century up until the present day. The two sub questions are: (1) Has the Eurocentric framework and "period-styles" writing method had an influence on the representation of the historic architecture of the islands in the former Netherlands Antilles? (2) Was there also a development regarding this framework and writing method for the historic architecture of the islands in the former Netherlands Antilles?

On the basis of Araújo and Rodríguez Maeso's definition of Eurocentrism, this thesis considers the superiority of the Eurocentric perspective as interpreting the world in terms of Western European values and experiences, disregarding the way other cultures see their own views and achievements as important within the history of architecture. In turn, the

Eurocentric framework is the set of standard ideas stemming from the Eurocentric perspective that provide support for academic researches on the historic architecture of different countries around the world.

The scope for this thesis is the beginning of the twentieth century, a period of increased interest in researching the historic architecture of the six Caribbean islands, and ends in the present day. The respective islands are: Aruba, Bonaire, Curaçao, Saba, St. Eustatius and St. Maarten. St. Maarten forms part of the island of Saint Martin, which also includes the French side Saint-Martin. For convenience in this thesis, St. Maarten is referred to as an island instead of a part of an island. This is similar for the Dominican Republic, which forms part of the island Hispaniola, together with the country Haiti.

Not every relevant and existing publication is analysed, due to the limited research period, my limited basic knowledge of the French language, and the unavailability of a majority of the books in the Netherlands. Hence, the Francophone Caribbean islands and the architectural historiography of France are entirely excluded from this thesis. Nevertheless, the historical developments of the Francophone islands are still important to the historic architectural development in the Caribbean.

Research method

To answer the questions raised in the previous section, secondary literatures and monographs were consulted in this epistemological research. These were found through books available in several libraries in the Netherlands and digitally available (snippet) previews, publications on Google Books or other academic websites. For academic journals, the academic digital database “Jstor” was consulted. Digital catalogue databases “Picarta” and “WorldCat” were useful to search for books and other publications. The majority of the consulted books were available at the library at the University of Amsterdam or other libraries and research institutes in the Netherlands, such as the *Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed* (Cultural Heritage Agency) and the *Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* (KITLV/Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asia and Caribbean Studies). An overview of the content of several books that were unavailable digitally or in the libraries of the Netherlands are provided by consulting academic reviews. In this case, however, one must take the possible biased view of the reviewer in consideration. Furthermore, I have been to Aruba for six months to experience the built heritage and the available research data on the

historic architecture of the island. Despite the existence of a few in depth research publications, there is still more research to be done on the historic architecture of the other islands of the former Netherlands Antilles.

The reason for writing in English instead of my own native language of Papiamento or the Dutch language used in academia was to enable a broader audience to reflect on and engage in the debate of Eurocentrism in architectural historiography, while also raising awareness on the lack of historical research itself on the architecture of the six Caribbean islands within the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

The first chapter critically discusses the main literatures that have contributed to the development of architectural historiography in Spain, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, specifically the developed and criticised perspectives and writing methods. Architectural historiography of the six Caribbean islands within the Dutch Kingdom are discussed in chapter 2. For each island, a critical overview is presented of the most important literature on built history. The chapter is divided based on the development of the aim of the publications: From preserving monuments, to documenting the historic architecture for the sake of the history of architecture itself. Afterwards, the developments of architectural historiography are discussed. Chapter 3 and 4 discuss the architectural historiography of the former Caribbean colonies of the United Kingdom and Spain, in comparison to that of the former Netherlands Antilles. For discussing architectural historiography of the Anglophone and Hispanophone Caribbean islands, the availability or lack of researches and publications should be taken into consideration. Chapter 5 analyses the results of the previous chapters with the aim to create a basic guide for writing on the historic architecture of the former Netherlands Antilles that has been influenced by multi-sided facts of historical developments and events. Furthermore, I will also criticise my own internship research, that researched the new architectural developments in the twentieth century on Aruba from the established Eurocentric framework and period-styles labelling. This thesis ends with a conclusion in which I will give answers to the research question and sub questions, followed by further research suggestions, a reference list and recommended books for further readings.

1. Western European architectural historiography development

The historical development of architecture is called the "history of architecture". However, this term can be deceptive, because oftentimes one could assume that it refers to the historic architecture of countries around the world. Instead, it mostly refers to the historic architectural development of Western Europe. Or, if the "history of architecture" discusses built history of countries around the world, the framework is usually Eurocentric. Most historic architectural courses or books consider the centuries-old treatises as the beginning of the history of architecture. In these treatises the emphasis is on the lives of the artists. Writers of such treatises are Marcus Vitruvius Pollio (c. 90 – c. 20 BCE, also known as Vitruvius), Leon Battista Alberti (1404 – 1472) and Georgio Vasari (1511 – 1574).[25] However, in the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, German art historians shifted the focus away from the biographical overview of artists. Instead, they emphasised more on the scientific study of stylistic processes and changes, and the meaning of art. For instance, the book *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe* published in 1915 (English translation in 1960 *Principles of Art History*) by Heinrich Wölfflin (1864 – 1945) had a great impact on the development of the historiography of art and architecture in Western Europe. Wölfflin belongs to the first generation of art historians who sought to systematise the knowledge of the history of architecture as part of the arts. By analysing and comparing the changes in appearances and visual characteristics over time, a stylistic division was realised.[26] Over the course of time different writing methods have been applied in the architectural historiography of Western Europe, to consider architecture historically: biography, technique, type, geography and culture, theme and analogy.[27]

Two notable architectural history books most students in the Netherlands get to read and gain knowledge from, are: Spiro Kostof's *A History of Architecture: Settings and Rituals* (1985) and David Watkin's *A History of Western Architecture* (1986). While Kostof focuses on a broad survey of the development of architecture and urbanism from around the world, Watkin remains focused on Western or European historic architecture.[28] However, critics find

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[25] Leach, What is Architectural History?, 1 – 40.

[26] Leach, 45. Consult "Further readings" list: Heinrich Wölfflin's *Principles of Art History. The Problem of the Development of Style in Later Art,* translated by M.D. Hottinger (New York: Dover Publications, 1960).

[27] Leach, 44 – 75.

[28] Spiro Kostof, *A history of architecture: settings and rituals* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985).

Kostof's cross-cultural framework as remaining Eurocentric.[29] For instance, Kostof compared Istanbul's architecture with that of Venice, by using terms associated with the built history of Western Europe. Watkin's publication established the importance of the classical tradition in Western architecture. Critics and reviewers of the book were left with the question: Does this kind of publication reflect the breadth of architectural history, especially in relation to the critical debate, ongoing since the second half of the 1980's, on the Eurocentric perspective?[30] During this period, postcolonial debates have arisen, questioning and criticising the unquestioned Western architectural canon. The aims of postcolonial perspective were to include a vast number of geographies and cultures in the historiography of architecture that have so far been excluded.[31] In addition, it aimed to broaden and deepen of the definition of "architecture", and was concerned with the ways in which power, and habits of subjugation shaped what architecture is. Themes that were being included in architectural historiography were political power and influences, privileges, economics, ideology, gender, sexuality, race, worldview and psychology.[32] Prominent critics of the postcolonial debate of architectural history, as already mentioned, are, among others, Gülsüm Baydar Nalbantoglu and Sibel Bozdogan. Both are professors and architectural historians, and received their doctorate outside their home country. Within the field of history itself it is argued that the practitioners of postcolonialism that pursued education in Western universities, have written mostly in English instead of their native language. By writing in English, postcolonial critics could demonstrate that postcolonialism reflects both Western as well as non-Western attitudes.[33]

The following sections give an overview of architectural historiography development in Spain, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, countries that have colonised, among other parts of the world, several islands in the Caribbean and on the American continents.

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[29] Panayiota Pyla, "Historicizing Pedagogy: A Critique of Kostof's 'A History of Architecture,'" *Journal of Architectural Education (1984-)* 52, no. 4 (May, 1999): 216 – 218.

[30] Peter L. Gloss, "David Watkin. A History of Western Architecture," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 47, no. 1 (March, 1988): 80.

[31] Leach, 129.

[32] Ibid.

[33] George G. Iggers, Q. Edward Wang and Supriya Mukherjee, *A global history of modern historiography* (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2008), 281.

"Mysterious" architecture and the East-West dichotomy: Spain

In Spain, a book published in 1922 remains important in architectural history of Spain, despite the changes in Spanish historiography on architecture over the course of time: *Arquitectura civil Española de los siglos I al XVIII* (*Spanish civil architecture from the first to the eighteenth century*) by the Spanish architect and restorer Vicente Lampérez (1861 – 1923, Madrid).[34] The book is digitally available in the online database of the University of Sevilla. The reason it remains important is due to the typology writing method.[35] This writing method included several historical social developments that played a role in the development of architecture in Spain. In the preface of the publication, Lampérez makes it clear to the readers that this is not a history book nor an inventory on the "civil" architecture of Spain. Lampérez defines "civil" architecture as (rural) houses, and private and public buildings in cities, such as palaces and theatres.[36] The public and private architecture are treated separately in two volumes, both divided into six chronological periods from the first to the eighteenth century.[37]

The reason Lampérez chose this methodology was not only to prove other countries wrong on their regard of Spanish architecture as unoriginal and subject to many European influences, but he was also convinced that through typology the Spanish architecture is more valued, rather than using the period-styles method.[38] Nevertheless, Lampérez thought that aesthetic styles are still important, but they can have a negative influence on external aspects of the buildings; the social settings in which the building was built.

While Lampérez agreed that Spanish architecture was influenced by Romanesque and Gothic architectural styles in Europe, he pointed out that the Islamic architecture from the

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[34] Vicente Lampérez, *Arquitectura civil Española de los siglos I al XVIII. Arquitectura privada*, vol. 1 (Madrid: Saturnino Calleja, 1922), 13, accessed June 15, 2016, http://fondosdigitales.us.es/fondos/libros/4387/184/arquitectura-civil-espanola-de-los-siglos-i-al-xviii-vicente-lamperez-y-romea/vista_amplia/; Javier Rivera Blanco, "El comienzo de la Historia de Arquitectura de España, Vicente Lampérez y Romea," Institución de Fernando el Católico, accessed June 15, 2016, http://ifc.dpz.es/recursos/publicaciones/31/29/04rivera.pdf.

[35] María Pilar Biel Ibáñez, "Una aproximación de la Historia de la Arquitectura en España (siglos XIX y XX)," Institución de Fernando el Católico, accessed June 15, 2016, ifc.dpz.es/recursos/publicaciones/31/29/02biel.pdf; Bórras Gualis, *Historia del arte y patrimonio cultural*, (Zaragoza: Prensas Universiterias de Zaragoza, 2012), accessed June 15, 2016, http://www.unizar.es/sg/doc/alocucion_000.pdf, 9; Leach, 61, 62.

[36] Lampérez, *Arquitectura civil Española*, vol. 1, 15, 21.

[37] Lampérez, *Arquitectura civil Española*, vol. 1; Vicente Lampérez, *Arquitectura civil Española de los siglos I al XVIII. Arquitectura pública*, vol. II (Madrid: Saturnino Calleja, 1922), accessed June 15, 2016, http://fondosdigitales.us.es/fondos/libros/4484/9/arquitectura-civil-espanola-de-los-siglos-i-al-xviii-tomo-ii/.

[38] Rivera Blanco, "El comienzo de la Historia de Arquitectura de España," 65.

eighth through to the fifteenth century was also integrated into Spanish architecture. This integration of Islamic architectural influences gave Spanish architecture a peculiar characteristic that was seen as the national built history of Spain (Figure 2). Lampérez undeniably mentioned influences of the West, *el Occidental*, but he does not treat Islamic

architecture, *el Oriental* (the East) as inferior or as "the other". On the contrary, Lampérez takes up Islamic architectural influences as part of Spanish architectural history.[39] While this book was a breakthrough at the beginning of the twentieth century, to this day there is a lack of critiques and reviews of the content. Since the book focuses on the historic architecture in Spain, there is no mention of the built history of the former Spanish colonies in the Caribbean or in Central and South America.

Figure 2. Arcaded hypostyle hall of the Mosque–Cathedral of Córdoba, also known in Spanish as *Mezquita de Córdoba*. It was built in AD 786 and enlarged in the two proceeding centuries. The Gothic style vaulting is combined with the typical Muslim horseshoe arches of the arcades. The mosque has been on the World Heritage list since 1984. (Copyright by Religión Digital, accessed August 5, 2016, http://www.periodistadigital.com/religion/espana/2016/03/30/la-iglesia-acepta-denominar-mezquita-a-la-catedral-de-cordoba-religion-iglesia-cabildo-junta-alcaldes.shtml).

[39] Consult "Further readings" list for literature on the critical debate of "Orientalism" (originally published in 1978). The term refers to a prejudice interpretation shaped by the European imperial attitudes in relation to "outsiders" during the 18th and 19th century: Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994).

Followed by Lampérez's book, Andrés Calzada (1892 – 1938) published in 1933 a survey on the history of Spanish architecture, *Historia de la arquitectura Española*.[40] The second edition, which was published in 1949 with an additional chapter on the twentieth century by another writer, is available from the University of Amsterdam library. While Lampérez's work was a breakthrough with the applied typology writing method, Calzada's book still approaches the subject from the chronological period-styles method. Calzada makes an analysis of all the aesthetic phases and essential connections that Spanish architecture has known up until 1933. There were periods when Spanish architecture was lagging behind Western European ideas and styles. Nevertheless, according to Calzada, this lack was balanced out by the persuasion of the Spanish "genius" to convert the "exotic" styles into its own.[41] Calzada does not explain what he meant by "exotic", but a derivation from the previous sentence indicates this word as being the "other" that is unfamiliar in comparison to the familiar, Western European architecture.

Despite the differences in their writing method, it is noticeable that both Lampérez and Calzada acknowledge Islamic architectural influences in combination with the Western European influences, producing a new architectural style in Spain, as part of the Spanish history of architecture.

Prior to 1938, publications in the English language on the Spanish architecture were mostly limited to monographs of the medieval period of Spain. It was the English art historian Bernard Bevan who went beyond the borders of Europe to study the architecture of the Spanish colonial period in Mexico and to include it in his publication *History of Spanish Architecture* (1938).[42] In his preface, Bevan made it clear that Spanish architecture has long been a mystery within European art and architecture. The specific reason lies in the fact that Spanish architecture is a product of two distinctive civilisations: The Christian and the Muslim civilisations. In spite of Lampérez's introduction of typology as a new writing method relative to his contemporaries, Bevan still approached *History of Spanish Architecture* from the period-styles method. The attitudes of the Christian and Muslim civilisations are "the key to those apparent anomalies which are so characteristic of

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[40] Calzada was architect and architectural historian. Andrés Calzada, *Historia de la arquitetura española* 2nd edition (Barcelona: Labor, 1949).

[41] Spanish citation: "De suerte que si por lo común la arquitectura española va a la zaga de las ideas y estilos de la europeana de Occidente, […] el genio indígena procura aclimatar y convertir en substancia propia los estilos exóticos." Calzada, Historia de la arquitectura esañola, 11.

[42] Bernard Bevan, *History of Spanish Architecture* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1938).

architecture in Spain", for instance the Mudéjar architecture style (Figure 3).[43] It is noticeable how Bevan's perspective towards Spanish architecture, influenced by the Muslim civilisation, is about seeing it as a deviation from the so-called "normal" architecture, namely Western European historic architecture. The characteristic architecture of Spain is described by Bevan from a Eurocentric framework: A realisation that the Spanish architecture does not fit within this framework, hence, it is an anomaly.

What sets Bevan's work apart from earlier publications on the Spanish architectural history, is the inclusion of Mexico in relation to the Mudéjar style.[44] Reviews on this book are positive, demonstrating a relief amongst the British readers in finally understanding Spanish architecture, despite it being complex and mysterious.[45] Spanish historic architecture was difficult for the English to understand because it has been influenced by many Western European architectural styles, such as the Italian, German, French, and Flemish. In contrast, the historic architecture of the United Kingdom was not influenced by many Western European architectural styles.

It was not easy for architectural historians to describe the Spanish architecture within the Eurocentric framework and the period-styles writing method. A critical debate on this paradigmatic framework used in architectural historiography, arose in 1947 in Spain with the publication of *Invariantes castizos de la arquitectura española* by Fernando Chueca Goita (1911 – 2004). There is no English translation of this book. However, the title can be translated to *Constants Peculiar to Spanish Architecture*. Prior to this publication, the debate or awareness on Eurocentrism in architectural historiography seems to be almost non-existent in Spain.[46] Since Chueca's book is neither available in the Netherlands nor digitally on the internet, an article by Pedro Navascués Palacio is used for understanding the writings of

[43] The Mudéjar style in Spanish architecture developed during a period when many Muslims remained in the reconquered Christian territory. Bevan, *History of Spanish Architecture,* V, XI, XIV.

[44] Bevan went to Mexico to study the Spanish influences there. Bevan, 113, 133,

[45] Martin S. Briggs, "History of Spanish Architecture. By Bernard Bevan," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 74, no. 430 (1939): 50, accessed May 13, 2016, http://www.jstor.org.proxy.uba.uva.nl:2048/stable/867570; A. Philip McMahon, "History of Spanish architecture, by Bernard Bevans," *Parnassus* 11, no. 4 (1939): 29-30, accessed May 13, 2016. doi:10.2307/771631; P.B., "History of Spanish Architecture. By Bernard Bevan," *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 88, no. 4539 (1939): 36-37, accessed May 13, 2016, http://www.jstor.org.proxy.uba.uva.nl:2048/stable/41359468; C. E. S. N., *Geography* 24, no. 4 (1939): 264, accessed May 13, 2016, http://www.jstor.org.proxy.uba.uva.nl:2048/stable/40561687.

[46] Fernando Chueca Goita, *Invariantes castizos de la arquitectura española* (Madrid: Dossat, 1947).

Figure 3. Cathedral of Teruel in the Mudéjar architectural style.
An example of nationalised Spanish architecture, influenced by Muslim and contemporary European styles during the 12th century; in this case in combination with Gothic influences of the pointed arches. West façade and tower of the *Catedral de Santa María de Mediavilla de Teruel*, ca. 1257 – 1350 in Teruel, Aragón. (Photograph by Thomas E. A. Dale. Copyright by the University of Wisconsin Art History Department, accessed June 15, 2016, http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/WebZ/FETCH?sessionid=01-57233-412868239&recno=3&resultset=3&format=F&next=html/nffull.html&bad=error/badfetch.html&&entitytoprecno=3&entitycurrecno=3&entityreturnTo=brief).

Chueca.[47] Chueca Goita criticised the scope and frameworks that had been formed through the years on the dichotomy of the Orient and the Occident (the East and the West), polarising the Spanish history of architecture.[48] One crucial critique Chueca Goita developed in *Invariantes castizo* is that architectural history should not be studied from a determined or fixed ideological framework. Otherwise, "whatever architecture may be […] we won't be writing on the political history in relation to architecture, but rather writing will become a politics on the history of architecture, something very different."[49]

Since Spanish architecture was difficult to comprehend, Spain was perceived as "the mysterious" one in West Europe by other Western European countries, such as the United Kingdom. The Eurocentric framework used as a fixed paradigm for historical architecture research during the eighteenth and nineteenth century, came under heavy criticism in the last decades of the twentieth century, especially in the United Kingdom. Furthermore, criticism on Eurocentrism in architectural history included the East-West dichotomy and the exclusion of views and achievements of "others", namely other countries around the world that are not Italy, Germany, United Kingdom and France.

Eurocentrism questioned and criticised: The United Kingdom

This section focuses on one major publication of the history of architecture that played an important role in British academia, and still does in the present day.

Almost a century after its first publication, architectural historians questioned and criticised the Eurocentric perspective and framework of the book *A History of Architecture*.[50] This canonical textbook is written by Banister Fletcher and his son Sir Banister Fletcher in 1896, and has been used by generations of architects in training. For this thesis, the fifth edition, published in 1905, is consulted, and is digitally available.[51]

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[47] Pedro Navascués Palacio, "Arquitectura e historia de la obra de Fernando Chueca," in *Fernando Chueca Goita: un arquitecto en la cultura española* ed. Fundación Antonio Camuñas (Madrid: Fundación Antonio Camuñas, 1992), accessed June 19, 2016, http://oa.upm.es/9421/.

[48] Navascués Palacio, "Arquitectura e historia de la obra de Fernando Chueca," 69, 72; Carlos Sambrico, "Fernando Chueca Goita, historiador de la arquitectura," *Goya* no. 264 (1998): 133.

[49] Original citation in Spanish: "*El que la architectura sea, […] no nos permite estudiarla desde un prisma ideológico determinado, porque entonces no haremos historia política de la arquitectura, sino política de la historia de la arquitectura, cosa muy diferente*." Navascués Palacio, 102.

[50] The first edition is not available in the Netherlands. Banister Fletcher and Sir Banister Fletcher, *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method*, 5th edition (London: Batsford, 1905), accessed May 26, 2016, https://archive.org/details/historyofarchite00fletuoft.

[51] Ibid.

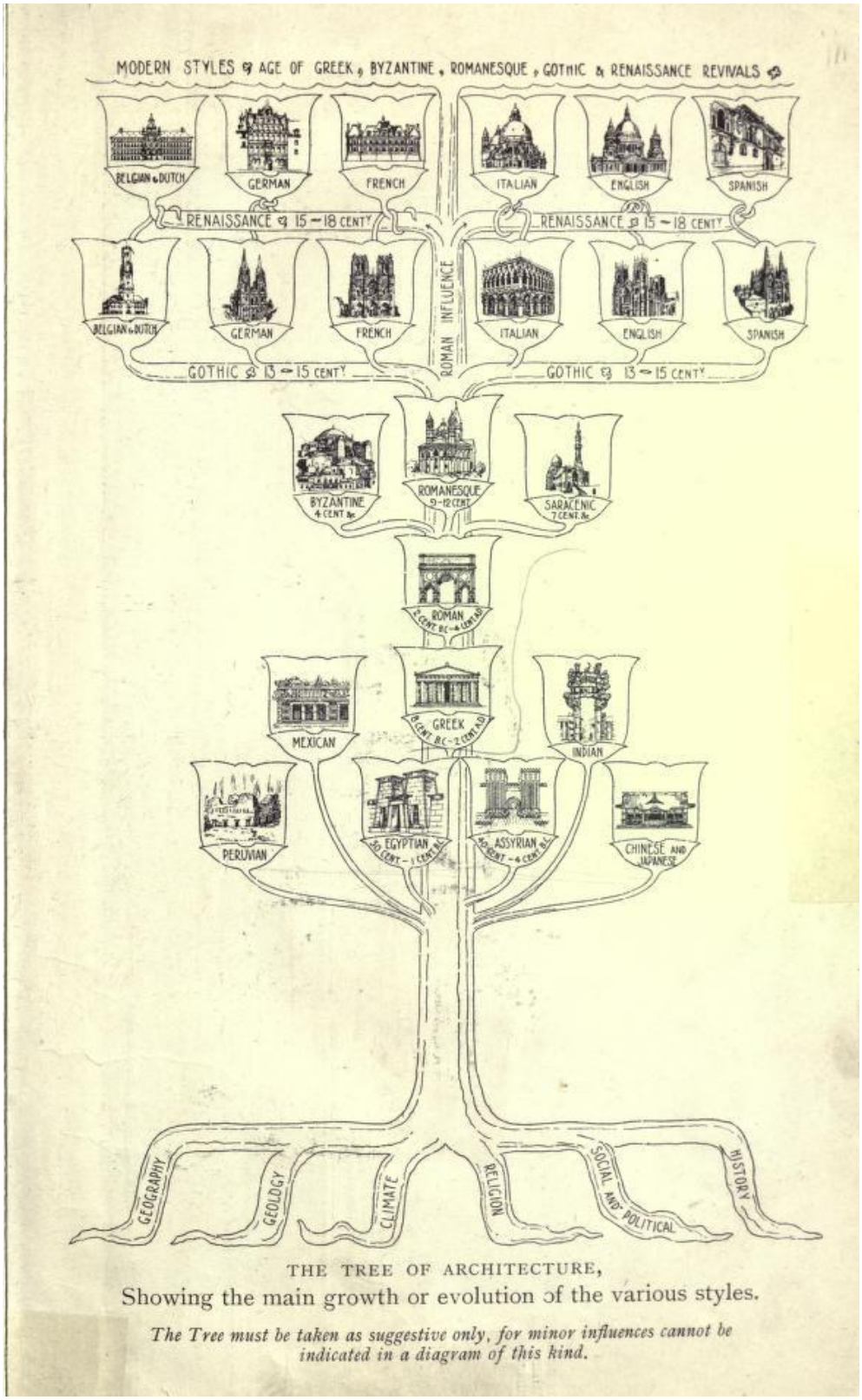

Figure 4. Fletcher and Fletcher's "Tree of Architecture" in the fifth edition of *A History of Architecture*, 1905.
(In *A History of Architecture*. By Banister Fletcher and Sir Banister Fletcher. London: Batsford, 1905, iii).

The original purpose of *A History of Architecture* was to be one of the most comprehensive surveys in the architectural world. The book itself has been frequently updated, as a result of criticisms of the methodological approaches that favours the Eurocentric framework and polarises the West and the East (or the outsider). The latest edition of *A History of Architecture*, the twentieth edition, was published in 1996. Alternatively, the twenty-first edition is under development and to be published in autumn 2017 by the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA); for the first time both as printed copy as well as an online interactive resource.[52]

The aim of Fletcher and Fletcher's book is to give a clear and brief overview of architectural characteristic features of countries and people.[53] For Fletcher and Fletcher, by applying the period-styles writing method, the differences and the qualities of each style were understood. However, the writers found that architecture had been too often isolated from its surroundings. Therefore, influences that have contributed to the formation of each architectural style, are taken into consideration: Geographical, geological, climate, religion, social and political, and historical influences.[54] The subsequent editions of *A History of Architecture* emphasised for a long time the Eurocentric framework supported by the Western and non-Western dichotomy. This dichotomy is reflected in the illustrated "Tree of Architecture" in (Figure 4). The purpose of the Tree of Architecture is to show the development of the different styles. Here

we see a tree trunk with branches dating and naming Western European styles. In contrast, other styles outside Western Europe remain undated. At the bottom of the trunk the roots represent the topographical and other cultural factors that have contributed to the formation of different architectural styles. Though the original caption under the illustration notes that the tree "[…] must be taken as suggestive only […]", this illustration was recognised as the canonical representation of styles.

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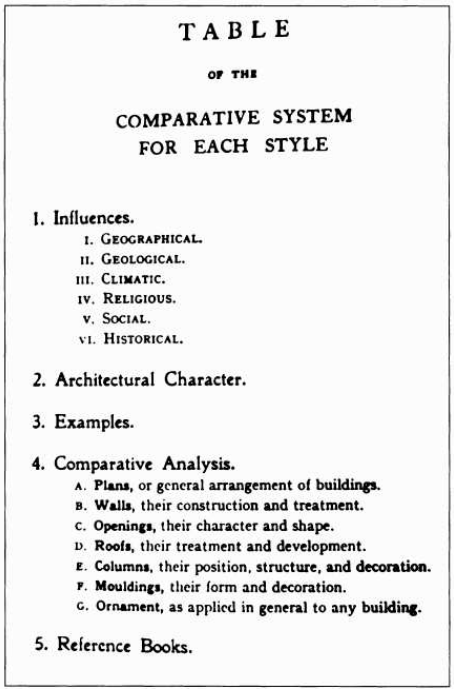
[52] "RIBA signs agreement with Bloomsbury Publishing and the University of London," RIBA (Royal Institute of British Architects), accessed May 26, 2016, https://www.architecture.com/RIBA/Contactus/NewsAndPress/PressReleases/2015/RIBAsignsagreementwithBloomsburyPublishingandtheUniversityofLondon.aspx.

[53] Fletcher and Fletcher, *A History of Architecture*, IX.

[54] Sir Banister Fletcher, "Preface to the first edition," in *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method*, ed. Banister Fletcher and Sir Fletcher Banister (London: Batsford, 1905), IX, X, accessed May 26, 2016, https://archive.org/stream/historyofarchite00fletuoft#page/n9/mode/2up.



TABLE

OF THE

COMPARATIVE SYSTEM
FOR EACH STYLE

1. Influences.
   - I. GEOGRAPHICAL.
   - II. GEOLOGICAL.
   - III. CLIMATIC.
   - IV. RELIGIOUS.
   - V. SOCIAL.
   - VI. HISTORICAL.
2. Architectural Character.
3. Examples.
4. Comparative Analysis.
   - A. **Plans**, or general arrangement of buildings.
   - B. **Walls**, their construction and treatment.
   - C. **Openings**, their character and shape.
   - D. **Roofs**, their treatment and development.
   - E. **Columns**, their position, structure, and decoration.
   - F. **Mouldings**, their form and decoration.
   - G. **Ornament**, as applied in general to any building.
5. Reference Books.

Figure 5. Fletcher and Fletcher's "Comparative system for each style."
(In "Toward Postcolonial Openings: Rereading Sir Banister Fletcher's 'History of Architecture.'" By Gülsüm Baydar Nalbantoglu," *Assemblage*, no. 35 (April, 1998), 11).

The architectural historian Gülsüm Baydar criticised the editions in her 1998 article "Toward Postcolonial Openings: Rereading Sir Banister Fletcher's *History of Architecture*."[55] Baydar notices in her article that Fletcher and Fletcher use the same analysing framework for categorising Western architecture, to classify "Non-Historical Styles" (Figure 5). Why would these so-called "Non-Historical Styles" be part of a survey on historical buildings if they are not considered historical? According to Fletcher and Fletcher, "Non-Historical Styles" are almost completely untouched by Western influences that were considered as "Historical".

"Non-Historical Styles" were very decorative relative to Western European architecture. The latter developed by means of solutions to the problems of construction.[56] While *A History of Architecture* has been used as an essential textbook for architects in training, Baydar thinks that it does not provide the paradigm for the treatment of Non-Western architecture. Additionally, Baydar is convinced that no work can take such a responsibility.[57] In her article, Baydar proposes to work towards positive moments that breaks the categorical boundaries imposed on other cultures, "[…] to listen and attend to what is silenced by and expelled from them."[58] Writing on postcolonialism in architecture should embrace the argument that "when the other speaks, it is in other terms." Since the twentieth edition will be published soon, several question arise in relation to the book: Will the twenty-first edition of Fletcher and Fletcher's publication prove Baydar wrong, that no work can provide a paradigm for the treatment of Non-Western architecture? Will the writing method show the connections and exchanges between countries? Or will it continue to avoid the problems with the politics of historiography of architecture in relation

[55] Gülsüm Baydar Nalbantoglu, "Toward Postcolonial Openings," 7.
[56] Baydar Nalbantoglu, 8.
[57] Baydar Nalbantoglu, 14.
[58] Baydar Nalbantoglu, 15.

to Eurocentrism? According to RIBA the twentieth edition promises to broaden the outlook on architecture, reassessing and rewriting the whole content, and rebalancing the structure of the book.[59]

Following Baydar's article, Sibel Bozdogan, professor at the Kadir Has Üniversitesi in Turkey, wrote one year later on postcolonial challenges of the modern survey of architectural history in professional education. Bozdogan uses Fletcher and Fletcher's publication, among others, as an example, and makes it clear that postcolonial challenges are not intended to discard and replace Western biases in the Western canon by "the other".[60] On the contrary, just like Baydar, Bozdogan suggests a framework in which the historical connections and exchanges, and the confrontation between the West and the Non-West should be clarified. Furthermore, the boundaries of dichotomies focusing mostly on the differences, should be disrupted.

While postcolonial challenges to Eurocentrism within the historiography of architecture gained momentum during the end of the 1990's, there is still a lack of books that explore this topic. Interest in critical debates on the Eurocentric framework has become widespread, and is mostly discussed in articles published in academic journals. Examples of articles that challenge the pedagogy of the Western academic tradition are: "Teaching Architectural History in Latin America" (2002), "Teaching Architectural History in Great Britain and Australia" (2002), and articles by Australian writers that propose new perspectives and frameworks in "Exploring a Cross-Cultural Theory of Architecture."[61]

Marginalised and "unrepresentative": The Netherlands

While in Spain the critical debate on the East-West dichotomy began in 1947 with Chueca Goita's publication, and in the United Kingdom a similar debate on Eurocentrism has been discussed in depth by architectural historians during the 1980's and 1990's, it seems as if the Kingdom of the Netherlands has not touched upon this international debate within the

[59] The twentieth edition will be released in Autumn 2017. "Sir Banister Fletcher," RIBA (Royal Institute of British Architects), accessed May 29, 2016, https://www.architecture.com/RIBA/Visitus/Library/Collections/SirBanisterFletcher/SirBanisterFletcher.aspx.

[60] Sibel Bozdogan, "Architectural History in Professional Education."

[61] Consult "Further readings" list: Susana Torre, "Teaching Architectural History in Latin America: The Elusive Unifying Architectural Discourse," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 61, no. 4 (December, 2002): 549 – 558; Deborah Howard, "Teaching Architectural History in Great Britain and Australia: Local Conditions and Global Perspectives," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 61, no. 3 (September, 2002): 346 – 354; Paul Memmot and James Davidson, "Exploring Cross-Cultural Theory of Architecture," *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review* vol. 19, no. 2 (Spring, 2008): 51 – 68.

discipline of the history of architecture; especially in relation to the six Caribbean islands within its current borders. As mentioned in the introduction, art history as a scientific discipline emerged in the nineteenth century, particularly in Germany. In the Netherlands, the development and formation of art and architectural history was rather slow in comparison to Germany and other Western European countries. In the Netherlands, in the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, survey books on history of architecture were mostly translated from German to Dutch. The Dutch used these books as information resources to compare and apply the shared knowledge to their own architecture.[62] The translators of the German books realised that Dutch architecture was almost never part of architectural history. It appears that Dutch architecture was not representative enough to be used as an example within historical architecture aesthetics.[63] In order to explain why Dutch architecture was marginalised within Western European architectural history, Brouwer, the author of *De wetten van de bouwkunst*, argued for looking beyond the idea of "not being representative enough". Rather, the explanation is found by analysing the period-styles writing method in the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century regarding history of architecture. The period-styles method affected the position of Dutch architectural history in survey books, because Dutch historic architecture did not fit completely in this writing method.[64] Spanish architecture must also have experienced a similar exclusion, since its historic architecture did not fit entirely within the Eurocentric framework and the period-styles writing method.

The first scientific work in the Netherlands on the Dutch history of architecture was by Frans Vermeulen in 1928, *Handboek tot de geschiedenis der Nederlandsche bouwkunst*, consisting of three volumes. The three volumes are divided into history of civil, church and military architecture, and are written from a period-styles metod.[65] For Vermeulen, it was important for his writing method to include not only the developed techniques and aesthetics of architecture, but to also focus on the relationship with the demands of social, spiritual and

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[62] Lex Bosman, "Nederlandse architectuurhistorici en het buitenland tot ongeveer 1960," *Bulletin KNOB* 114, no. 1 (2015): 24, 33, accessed February 10, 2016, http://bulletin.knob.nl/index.php/knob/article/view/999/1318; Brouwer, *De wetten van de bouwkunst*, 205.

[63] Brouwer, 301.

[64] Brouwer, 310.

[65] Vermeulen was a member of the governmental preservation office *Rijksbureau voor de Monumentenzorg.* Frans Vermeulen, *Handboek tot de geschiedenis der Nederlandsche bouwkunst. Voorgeschiedenis en middeleeuwen,* vol. 1 ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1928); Frans Vermeulen, *Handboek tot de geschiedenis der Nederlandsche bouwkunst. Kentering en renaissance*, vol. 2 ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1931); Frans Vermeulen, *Handboek tot de geschiedenis der Nederlandsche bouwkunst. Barok en klassicisme*. vol. 3 ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1941).

economic development as a whole.[66] With his publication he came to the realisation that, unlike French, German or English architecture in which each is distinguished from one another by their own peculiar characteristics, there are no typical Dutch architectural characteristics and there existed no national cohesiveness.[67] Nonetheless, Vermeulen was convinced that the Dutch personality can be recognised in medieval churches: Their sober, massive and pragmatic characteristics, and the expression in brick construction.[68] He concludes that despite Dutch architectural history being marginalised within the [Western European] history of architecture, it still belongs to the art of West Europe, the Germanic nations.

According to the critic M.D. Henkel, it seems that Vermeulen, in spite of his knowledge, ignored or had not seen the close relations or connections between the Northern and Southern Low Countries, and modern-day Netherlands and Belgium, respectively.[69] Specifically when approaching the sixteenth century, influences of the Southern region of the Low Countries were becoming more apparent.

Almost a decade later, J.J. Vriend also published a three-volume general overview of Dutch architecture, *De bouwkunst van ons land* (1938).[70] Volumes one, two and three focus on cities (1938), the rural area (1949) and interiors (1950), respectively. The book is not a scientific survey on the Dutch history of architecture, but the period-styles writing method gives a chronological classification of architectural styles in the Netherland. Despite being positively accepted by a broad audience of readers, Vriend's publication was also criticised.[71] Vriend declared in his preface that the book was written for the layman who is interested in the history of architecture. However, because of the book's scope on historic architecture in the Netherlands, which includes "the interior", it is not surprising that academics also consulted this book.

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[66] Vermeulen, Handboek tot de geschiedenis der Nederlandsche bouwkunst, vol. 1, 12.
[67] Vermeulen, vol.1, 12, 13.
[68] Vermeulen, vol. 1, 13.
[69] Henkel, "Overzicht der literatuur betreffende Nederlandsche kunst," *Oud Holland* 48 (1931):142, 146.
[70] J.J. Vriend, *De bouwkunst van ons land*, *De steden*, 2nd ed. (Amsterdam: Scheltema & Holkema Boekhandel en Uitgeversmaatschappij N.V., 1949); J.J. Vriend, *De bouwkunst van ons land*, *Het platteland*. (Amsterdam: Scheltema & Holkema Boekhandel en Uitgeversmaatschappij N.V., 1949); J.J. Vriend, *De bouwkunst van ons land*, *Het interieur*. (Amsterdam: Scheltema & Holkema Boekhandel en Uitgeversmaatschappij N.V., 1950).
[71] C., "J.J. Vriend. De bouwkunst van ons land," *De Gids* 103 (1939): 389 – 392, accessed May 18, 2016, http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_gid001193901_01/_gid001193901_01_0033.php.

Although, as mentioned before, Dutch historic architecture was not representative enough to fit in the Eurocentric period-styles writing method, both Vermeulen and Vriend attempted to fit Dutch historic architecture into this method of writing. However, it took Dutch architectural historians almost seventy years to break away from the period-styles writing method. With *Bouwen in Nederland* by Bosma et al., the development of Dutch architectural history of the last fifteen hundred years, prior to the year 2000, is offered in a versatile and different way. *Bouwen in Nederland* discusses different types of buildings based on their past cultural and historical connections.[72] Unlike the previously discussed books in this thesis, including those on architectural history of Spain and the United Kingdom, Bosma et al. have set a clear boundary for discussing Dutch architecture: The current frontiers of the Netherlands, but excluding the former Netherlands Antilles, which are still part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. A specific reason is not mentioned for this exclusion.

Bosma et al. breaks away from the Eurocentric framework that only recognises the differences between countries, and instead goes beyond the territorial boundaries and making connections with the historic developments that influenced the architecture. While the current borders in Europe were not the same as in the past, Bosma et al.'s cross-cultural framework include the regions outside the current Netherlands that were historically part of the Kingdom of the Low Countries. For example, Belgian historic architecture of the fifteenth and sixteenth century.

Other survey books or monographs on history of architecture are mostly translated from English to Dutch, such as David Watkin's survey book "*De westerse architectuur: een geschiedenis"* (original title: *A history of Western architecture)*, or Kenneth Frampton's monograph on the modern architecture *"Moderne architectuur: een kritische geschiedenis"* (original title: *Modern architecture: a critical history*).

It is notable that while in Spain, the discussion on the East-West dichotomy was raised in the mid twentieth century, and also later in Great Britain during the last decades of the same century, including Eurocentrism and writing method of history; in the Netherlands only the writing methods gained attention within the discipline. For instance, the current students at the University of Amsterdam are trained to analyse writing methods critically. However, the critical debate on the exclusions of Eurocentric or Western framework and the East-West

[72] Koos Bosma et al., *Bouwen in Nederland, 600 – 2000* (Zwolle, Amsterdam: Waanders Uitgevers, Prins Bernhard Cultuurfonds, 2007), 7, 9.

dichotomy is to an enormous extent still not discussed in depth or not even touched upon.[73] Critical debates on Eurocentrism have mostly gained interest in Anthropology or Social Studies, especially in literature and in relation to Indonesia.

Learning critically from histories

As discussed above, Western European architectural historiography has developed from the period-styles method to the typology writing method. This shift is related to the realisation that a majority of architecture from other countries in West Europe are excluded from architectural history, such as the Netherlands and Spain. Debates on cross-cultural framework in architectural history is still in its early years. *Bouwen in Nederland* by Bosma et al. is an example of the application of cross-cultural framework.

Although a cross-cultural approach could be a solution to Eurocentric or Western framework, and is seen as positive and perhaps slightly utopian, it is important for architectural historians to evaluate the possible negative sides of cross-cultural framework in architectural history. A concern that should be taken into consideration when writing history of architecture from a cross-cultural perspective and framework, is the association of historic architecture with negative or traumatic historical events that changed the culture of a place or community. From Eurocentric or cross-cultural framework, buildings related to negative or traumatic past events within certain populations, still have value in terms of heritage. However, a traumatised or concerned population can be biased towards considering these buildings as having an intrinsic value, to be included in their architectural history. Should the buildings be excluded completely from architectural history? For instance, the wooden buildings dating from the colonial period in the historic inner city of Paramaribo, Surinam, are a constant reminder for the current population about the historical traumatic events of the slave trade. The buildings are perceived by the Surinamese population as the Dutch coloniser's heritage, not as the local's heritage (Figure 6).[74] Listed as UNESCO's World Heritage Site, the buildings in the historic inner city of Paramaribo are protected monuments

[73] "Vak – Benadering in de kunstgeschiedenis," UvA Studiegids 2015 – 2016, accessed June 26, 2016, http://studiegids.uva.nl/xmlpages/page/2015-2016/zoek-vak/vak/21751; "Vak – Architectuur & ideologie. Betekenissen en morele noties in de architectuur en de architectuurgesch.," UvA Studiegids 2015 – 2016, accessed June 26, 2016, http://studiegids.uva.nl/xmlpages/page/2015-2016/zoek-vak/vak/1132794.

[74] Jeanette van Ditzhuijzen, "Huizen waarin je voorouders slaven waren," Trouw, accessed June 8, 2016, http://www.trouw.nl/tr/nl/4324/Nieuws/article/detail/1778910/2003/05/01/Huizen-waarin-je-voorouders-slaven-waren.dhtml; "Historic Inner City of Paramaribo," UNESCO World Heritage Centre, accessed June 8, 2016, http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/940/.

and are meant to attract tourists and contribute to the country's economy. These buildings and traumatic events have indeed changed the culture in Paramaribo, however, they should not be eliminated from the history of architecture. Instead, the traumatic events must also be taken into consideration and become integrated in the history of architecture; not as a foot or end note, but as part of the whole historical account of the architectural history.

Figure 6. Wooden houses in the historic inner city of Paramaribo.
These houses were built during the colonial slave trade in Suriname in the 17th and 18th century (Photograph by Ron van Oers. Copyright by UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 2005, accessed May 25, 2016, http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/940.)

2. Aruba, Bonaire, Curaçao, Saba, St. Eustatius and St. Maarten

Between the Anglophone islands of the former Netherlands Antilles (Saba, St. Eustatius and St. Maarten), and Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao, there is an immense cultural difference.[75] The latter three islands are mostly influenced by the Roman Catholic church, as a result of their proximity to the coast of Venezuela. Papiamento is the language that developed amongst the inhabitants of these islands and it is strongly related to Spanish, with influences from the Portuguese, English and Dutch languages. The Anglophone islands of the former Netherlands Antilles on the other hand, have been English-speaking islands since the eighteenth century. It is not surprising that the English churches played a major role as the main religion on the islands.[76]

In this chapter, the focus is solely on the six former Netherlands Antilles islands: Aruba, Bonaire, Curaçao, Saba, St. Eustatius and St. Maarten. In the "Further readings" list, three books are included which give a broad overview of the historical development of the Caribbean.[77] Topics in the books include the slave trade, and the modernisation due to the rise of the oil industry in the first half of the twentieth century on Aruba and Curaçao.

Architectural historiography of the former Netherlands Antilles can be divided into two developments. In the twentieth century, the focus was, to a great extent, on the preservation of historic monuments. At the end of the twentieth century and at the beginning of the twenty-first century, publications focused more towards documenting the historic architecture without much motive towards preservation. Around the time of decolonisation in 1954 architectural historic research began on the buildings on the islands. It should be noted that Curaçao is disproportionately presented in the publications that focus on the preservation of monuments, such as monographs. Not only in architecture but also on urbanism.[78] Some of

[75] Temminck Groll and Van Alphen, *The Dutch overseas, architectural survey*, 308

[76] Ibid.

[77] Hartog, *De geschiedenis van twee landen*; James Ferguson, *A traveller's history of the Caribbean* 2nd edition (Northampton, Massachusetts: Interlink Books, 2008); Alofs et al., *Geschiedenis van de Antillen. Aruba, Bonaire, Curaçao, Saba, Sint Eustatius, Sint Maarten*; Gert Oostindie, *Het paradijs overzee. De 'Nederlandse' Caraïben en Nederland* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Bert Bakker, 1997).

[78] *Orde versus chaos?* by Mariëtte Kamphuis and *Europeesche woningtoestanden* by Saskia van Dijk. Both writers were Dutch architectural history students at the *Rijksuniversiteit Groningen* and did their PhD research

the islands saw the rise of the "*monumentenzorg*": Foundations were formed with an interest in preserving local monuments. However, it was not until the 1980s that this interest increased rapidly. Almost all of the publications in this period related to the built history, were inventories of monuments on the islands that needed to be preserved. The inventories are often systematically documented, in which style, type, period, and so forth, of a building are accompanied by an explanation on the value of a monument.[79]

The few existing theses on architecture on Aruba or Curaçao are written by Dutch students, or by students from these Caribbean islands, who also received their architectural or architectural history training in the Netherlands.[80] The writing method for the theses focused on the techniques and aesthetic characteristics of buildings.

Not only books[81], but also articles in academic journals discussed historic architecture of the former Netherlands Antilles, emphasising the preservation of monuments. For instance, a whole volume of the 1993 *Bulletin K.N.O.B.* academic journal was almost entirely dedicated to historic architecture and the monuments on Curaçao.[82]

A first survey textbook discussing the architecture in the Caribbean by Edward E. Crain, *Historic architecture in the Caribbean islands* in 1994, only takes up Curaçao as an example of the built history of all the six islands of the former Netherlands Antilles.[83] It is not surprising that Curaçao is overrepresented in research by different academic disciplines. Before and after decolonisation, up until 1986, the government of the former Netherlands Antilles was seated on Curaçao.[84] The political relations between the Netherlands and the

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in 1991 on Curaçao, focusing on the built history and public housing during the Shell oil refinery period. They were guided by prominent Dutch professors in the Netherlands such as C.L. Temminck Groll, Ed Taverne and Auke van der Woude (all three were also part of the 1993 editorial of *Bulletin K.N.O.B.*), and on Curaçao by the prominent architect Michael Newton. Consult the "Further readings" list.

[79] Examples of such inventories are *Monumenten inventarisatie Curacao* in 1986 by the *Dienst Ruimtelijke Ontwikkeling en Volkshuisvesting* (Department of Urban Development and Housing) and *Saban Monuments* in 1988 by Temminck Groll and Brugman. Consult "Further readings" list.

[80] The first theses about architecture on Aruba were written by two Aruban former architecture students Marielle Provence in 1984, *Arubaanse Architectuur*, and Anthony Rosenstand in 1986 with *Het Arubaanse Kunukuhuis.* The Curaçaoan former architecture student Michael Newton published his thesis as a book in 1986 on architecture of Curaçao and the way country houses were built on this island, *Architektuur en bouwwijze van het Curaçaose landhuis*. Consult "Further readings" list.

[81] Consult "Further readings" list: Johan Hartog, *The Forts of Sint Maarten and Saint Martin* (Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1994); Johan Hartog, *De forten, verdedgingswerken van Curaçao en Bonaire. Van Van Walbeeck tot Wouters. 1634 – 1942* (Zaltbommel: Europees Bibliotheek, 1997); Johan Hartog, *De forten, verdedigingswerken en geschutstellingen van Sint Eustatius en Saba. Van Pieter van Corselles tot Abraham Heyliger. 1636 – 1785* (Zaltbommel: Europese Bibliotheek, 1997).

[82] Various. Koninklijke Nederlandse Oudheidkundige Bond 92, no. 1 – 2 (1993): 1 – 33.

[83] Edward E. Crain, *Historic architecture in the Caribbean islands* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1994).

[84] Alofs et al., *De geschiedenis van de Antillen*, 97.

former Netherlands Antilles happened via Curaçao. This might have influenced the amount of research on historic architecture of Curaçao. Further research could clarify this presumption.

Focus on monument preservation

On a request by concerned and well-established inhabitants of Curaçao, the Dutch professor Murk Daniël Ozinga researched, during 1955 and 1956, the architecture on the island of Curaçao. Ozinga set up an inventory of monuments for the first time, and the result was bundled as a monograph: *De monumenten van Curaçao in woord en beeld* (The monuments of Curaçao in text and images).[85] Not only did Ozinga visit these six islands, he also travelled to other Caribbean islands and other countries on the coast of the whole American continent. The purpose of these visits was to get a view of, and to compare the built history of all the former European-colonised territories in this region. During his fieldwork, Ozinga saw a difference in buildings between the different European colonisers. Northern Europeans had to adapt their building practices to a year-round warm climate that they were not used to. The Southern Europeans on the other hand, were already used to a warmer climate. They built in similar ways as they did in Europe, or they fused their European architecture with that of the indigenous inhabitants.[86]

Ozinga's book is divided in two parts, in which the first gives a short historical background on the development of and the increasing interest in Curaçao. The second part outlines the monuments by different typologies of buildings, such as fortifications, public buildings, city dwellings, and country houses (in Dutch: *landhuizen*). According to Ozinga the most characteristic civil architectural monuments on Curaçao are the town houses. The town houses were purely an expression of the own choices and decisions of their inhabitants, without any direct interference from the Netherlands in relation to designs or forms. An example of such expression is the open or closed galleries, to protect the interior from climatological circumstances (Figure 7).[87] Not only the history and the climate played a role in the characteristics of the monuments of Curaçao, but so did the environment itself, which

[85] Ozinga was the first Dutch professor of architectural history. Bosman, 36; Murk Daniël Ozinga, *De monumenten van Curaçao in woord en beeld. Met tekeningen en foto's van H. van der Wal. With English Summaries* (Willemstad, 's-Gravenhage: Stichting Monumentenzorg Curaçao, Staatsdrukkerij- en Uitgeversbedrijf, 1958), V.

[86] Ozinga, *De monumenten van Curaçao in woord en beeld*, VII.

[87] Ozinga, 130.

Figure 7. Breedestraat 24, Willemstad, Curaçao (demolished in 1953).
Built between 1751 – 1767, most probably by a Jewish merchant. In this photograph the first storey has an open gallery. However, the half circular fanlights underneath the arches on the same storey indicate that the gallery was originally closed; in the same way as the second storey with its *louvre* windows. (In *De monumenten van Curaçao in woord en beeld*. By M.D. Ozinga. Willemstad, 's-Gravenhage: Stichting Monumentenzorg Curaçao, Staatsdrukkerij- en Uitgeversbedrijf, 1958).

offered building materials, and was mostly used for plantations.[88] When describing a building, Ozinga does not label the architectural elements reminiscent of those in Europe with a Western European architectural style. However, a few times Ozinga refers to the stylistic terminology when describing the visible influences on a building, for example he uses the term "Rococo-like elements" instead of "Rococo".

As a professor, Ozinga most probably raised an interest in the built history of the Netherlands Antilles in his student Coenraad Liebrecht Temminck Groll. Commissioned by the government of Curaçao, Temminck Groll visited the Netherlands Antilles in 1966 in order to get a personal impression of the remaining monuments.[89] A year later, Temminck Groll published his advice based on his research concerning the preservation of "the two countries Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles", *Monumentenzorg in Suriname en de Nederlandse Antillen*.[90] Besides outlining the monuments in Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles, Temminck Groll gives an overview of the current situation. Furthermore, Temminck Groll outlines the main focus and issues when preserving monuments, and how they could be handled financially. According to Temminck Groll, in comparison to Europe, where the old building traditions came more or less to an end during the 1860s, Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles still built in the traditional way during the 1920s due to the isolation of the country and islands.[91] Temminck Groll's comparison to Europe is an informative way to know how developments varied in different parts of the world. He strived for preserving "primitive" built history, namely in Surinam. An explanation is not given on the meaning of the term "primitive" in relation to architecture. Temminck Groll continues to compare Surinam and the former Netherlands Antilles to Western Europe architecture: "Here, in particular in Surinam, unlike West Europe, the past is still alive in some places. Although building structures of [the native Indians and Creoles] are barely old, they are built according to the very old traditions."[92] There is no doubt that Temminck Groll meant well with sentences like these, and there is nothing wrong with making comparisons. However, tends to lean more towards a Eurocentric comparison of the superior versus the inferior. It should be

[88] Ozinga, 14.
[89] Attema, *St. Eustatius*, 8.
[90] C.L. Temminck Groll, *Monumentenzorg in Suriname en de Nederlandse Antillen* (Driebergen: [s.n.], 1967.
[91] Temminck Groll, *Monumentenzorg in Suriname en de Nederlandse Antillen*, 1967, 2.
[92] "Anders dan in West-Europa is hier, met name in Suriname, op sommige punten het verleden nog levend. De oude cultuur van indianen en Bosland-Creolen kan men nu nog bijna onbeïnvloed waarnemen. Hoewel hun bouwwerken zelden oud zijn, zijn ze opgetrokken volgens zeer oude tradities." Temminck Groll, 1967, 10.

noted that despite his Eurocentric framework, Temminck Groll urged in his research that these old building traditions should be documented in order to preserve them as heritage. In several passages Temminck Groll continues to make a comparison to Europe, nevertheless, he is aware of his Eurocentric perspective: "As a European, it is always a perilous endeavour to write something about tropical countries. Here we are rapidly apt to say: This should be done this or that way."[93]

Almost a decade later Temminck Groll visited the former Netherlands Antilles to expand on his advice from his former research, in which the urban context was included as important within the preservation policy; Surinam was excluded from this research.[94] Due to a lack of time, Temminck Groll could not make an architectural overview himself of the islands in a short-term period. He states in his conclusion that each island has its own diverse form of "Antillean" architecture with some more or less recognisable Dutch architectural influences, but also some Spanish, Portuguese or English influences.[95] Influenced by his research and interests in the architecture of the former Netherlands Antilles, some of Temminck Groll's students also published on this topic during the 1980s and 1990s. The publications of Temminck Groll's students are discussed in the following paragraphs.

The Dutch architectural historian Ypie Attema, published the monograph *St. Eustatius. A short history of the island and its monuments* in 1976, a summary of in-depth research on preserving the island's monuments, with an introduction by Temminck Groll himself.[96] The chapters are divided into periods, from discovery through to the second half of the twentieth century. By writing in English, Attema made the book accessible to a broader audience in comparison to if it was written in Dutch.

It is ironic that Attema explains the historical events of St. Eustatius, which includes the slave history, but still uses the derogatory colonial word "negroes", implying the dark skinned African descendants to be slaves, long after decolonisation and the abolishment of slave trade.[97] While Attema tried to give a rational descriptive account, the Eurocentric perspective is inevitably present in her work.[98]

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[93] Temminck Groll, 46.

[94] C.L. Temminck Groll, *Monumentenzorg Nederlandse Antillen* (S.l: s.n., 1977), 1, 3.

[95] Temminck Groll, *Monumentenzorg Nederlandse Antillen*, 67.

[96] Ypie Attema, *St. Eustatius. A short history of the island and its monuments* (Zuthpen: Walburg Pers, 1976).

[97] Attema translated the English word from the Dutch word "*negers*". Attema, *St. Eustatius*, 74. This Dutch word was derived from the Spanish or Portuguese "*negro*" during the colonisation periods meaning "black" in these two Romance languages. In recent years the use of *"negers*" raised concerns within the public opinion in

In her publication, Attema's provides a one-sided factual description: Architectural history or the monuments of St. Eustatius are solely related to the historical developments of the European colonisers, in particular the Dutch. How or if the colonisers wrote about the slaves, is not discussed in the book. Perhaps this kind of information was never documented, or Attema decided not to include it in her research. However, St. Eustatius and its historic architecture as it is today, was not shaped solely by the European colonisers, but also by the imported slaves of African descent and their offspring born on the island, or on other Caribbean islands.

In a separate chapter Attema discusses briefly the monuments on the island of St. Eustatius that needs extra attention in terms of preservation.[99] The buildings are described as objectively as possible: "[The 'Old School' building on the *Bredeweg*] is rectangular, consisting of one floor with cellar underneath. A "verandah" has been added along the full length of the building on the street. […] Behind the building there is a typical example of Caribbean architecture – a hurricane house. A rectangular stone building […] used as a shelter during hurricanes, since they gave better protection than the light, wooden houses."[100] Attema's claim of the so-called typical example of Caribbean architecture as the "hurricane house" is misleading: The claim implies that the whole Caribbean gets affected during the hurricane season. However, not all Caribbean islands get affected by the hurricane season, in terms of destruction of buildings and landscape. Furthermore, Attema does not include an exemplary image for her description of the "typical Caribbean architecture".

Another student of Temminck Groll, Joan D. van Andel also did research in the Netherlands Antilles on preserving its monuments, but on the island of St. Maarten. The result is the publication of the *Caribbean traditional architecture. The traditional architecture of Philipsburg, St Martin (N.A.)* in 1980, approached from a typology writing method.[101] Al though Van Andel sees the inherited architecture in Philipsburg as "none the less valuable in itself and of great historical and cultural importance", the framework of the

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the Netherlands. Vivien Waszink, "Het woord neger reduceert iemand tot zijn huidskleur," *de Volkskrant*, October 14, 2014, accessed July 3, 2016, http://www.volkskrant.nl/opinie/het-woord-neger-reduceert-iemand-tot-zijn-huidskleur~a3770984/.

[98] Nowadays it is negatively striking when reading the word "negroes" in several passages of the book, implying to the slaves on the island of St. Eustatius. Attema, 16, 35, 41, 44.

[99] Attema, 63 – 67.

[100] Attema, 67.

[101] This book is a revision of Van Andel's final thesis for her master's degree in Art History in Amsterdam. Joan D. van Andel, *Caribbean traditional architecture. The traditional architecture of Philipsburg, St Martin (N.A.)* (Leiden: Caraïbische Afd., Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, 1985), VII.

Figure 8. A small domestic house in the western part of Philipsburg, St. Maarten.
According to Andel, it is evident in the photograph that the "veranda" is not part of the original construction. The "veranda" is rather a later addition to the house. The gingerbread decoration is used as cornice of the "veranda". (In *Caribbean traditional architecture.The traditional architecture of Philipsburg, St. Martin (N.A.)*. By Joan D. van Andel. Leiden: Caraïbische Afd., Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, 1985, 36).

book is Eurocentric. In the introduction of the book Van Andel claims that Philipsburg possesses an inherited architecture that "is not comparable either in quality or in quantity to that of Western European countries, with their longer history and great wealth."[102] On one hand it is reasonable to understand that in quantity there is indeed a relative disproportional difference. On the other hand, to say that the architecture of Philipsburg is qualitatively incomparable to that of Western Europe's, Van Andel automatically puts Philipsburg in an inferior position, placing West Europe as having superior architecture.

The traditional domestic house in Philipsburg consists of a front, called a "veranda", the house itself and the backyard (Figure 8).[103] The function of the veranda contributes not only in terms of protection against climatological circumstances, but also to the social dynamics between the dweller, his neighbours and passers-by. The veranda is an extension of or an addition to the front part of the house, and consists usually of the so-called "gingerbread decoration".[104] Mostly slave owners lived in such houses while the slaves lived behind the building. Van Andel does not give an explanation on whether the slave houses also had the same forms or detailing as the slave owner's house.

The rectangular plan of the houses facilitates cross-ventilation and are raised above the ground. The structure of the houses is in many ways related to the houses on the other Caribbean islands, especially those of Grenada, Barbados, Antigua, Anguilla, Saba and

[102] Andel, *Caribbean traditional architecture*, 3.
[103] Andel, 19.
[104] Gingerbread decorations are ornamental woodworks, usually placed just underneath the veranda roof as a cornice. Andel, 27.

Puerto Rico.[105] For Van Andel the similarity is not surprising, seeing as there were frequent changes in alliances and territorial possessors. Also the trade between European nations and the islands themselves played a role in forming similarities in architecture.

Van Andel characterises domestic architecture in Philipsburg as a "unique West Indian style" in terms of structural or diverse stylistic characteristics. Here, the term "West Indies" is used freely without an explanation on why it was and still is used in the Caribbean.

It is widely known among the former Netherlands Antilles that Temminck Groll contributed a lot to the preservation of historic architecture and monuments. In a tribute book dedicated to Temminck Groll, *Building up the future from the past* in 1990, the focus is mainly on the preservation of the historic monuments of the Netherlands Antilles islands.[106] It consists of thematic essays by different Dutch writers or writers from the former Netherlands Antilles. The writers have a background in either architecture, art or architectural history, social and literature studies, biology, archaeology or preservation. Themes include the urban architecture of the islands, the transition from traditional to modern architecture and historic monuments, and interiors and jewellery; the latter two topics were almost never included in architecture books.

While the majority of the essays focus on Curaçao, the reader is treated to learning a little more about the architecture on Bonaire in the essay written by the Dutch social geographer Ank Klomp: "The traditional Bonairean house, its history and chances for survival."[107] This essay shifts away from the Eurocentric framework, and focuses on political-economic developments of the island. This thematic writing method is very different in comparison to how Attema and Van Andel, and even Temminck Groll wrote their publications.

Klomp begins to compare the island's urban structure to that of Curaçao and Aruba objectively. The essay reveals that the inhabitants on Bonaire lived in concentrated villages instead of scattered all over the island.[108] This phenomenon is rooted in the political-economic trade history: All economic activities were governmental, and it was prohibited for private individuals to do business. Later developments, when private individuals were also allowed to do business, have not changed the pattern of concentrated villages.

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[105] Andel, 37, 39, 41.

[106] Henry E. Coomans, Michael A. Newton and Maritza Coomans-Eustatia, *Building up the Future from the Past. Studies on the Architecture and Historic Monuments in the Dutch Caribbean* (Zutphen, Curaçao: Walburg Pers, Universidat Nashonal di Antia, 1990).

[107] Ank Klomp, "The traditional Bonairean house, its history and chances for survival," in *Buidling up the Future from the Past* (Zutphen, Curaçao: Walburg Pers, Universidat Nashonal di Antia, 1990).

[108] Klomp, "The traditional Bonairean house, its history and chances for survival," 74.

Besides the political-economic part of history, Klomp also adds the historical social aspect to the architecture of the traditional houses on Bonaire, in which she informs the readers about most Bonaireans having two houses. The main house in the village is well-kept, and the one in the rural areas is usually used during the weekends or after work.[109] Most traditional houses are dated from the nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century, and they usually have a rectangular floor plan with front or back closed galleries as integral parts of the house (Figure 9). However, prior to approximately the 1930s, when most Bonaireans migrated to Aruba or Curaçao for work in the oil refineries, the living pattern was the other way around. During the weekdays, the villages were practically abandoned; people stayed in the rural areas looking after their own crops.

Klomp concludes in her essay, that the historic architecture of Bonaire is not solely about the individual houses, but encompasses all the houses together within a village.

Temminck Groll not only mentored students during their research on the architecture of the individual Netherlands Antilles islands, he also worked side by side with other professionals such as the Dutch Frans Brugman in 1986 - 1988, as an integral part of Brugman's publication *The Monuments of Saba* in 1995.[110] Brugman wrote this book as an instrument in gaining knowledge on and preserving the wooden cottage monuments on Saba. Brugman discusses the typology of the Saban cottages, followed by the European influences that played a role on the Caribbean cottages, and lastly listed an inventory of buildings built

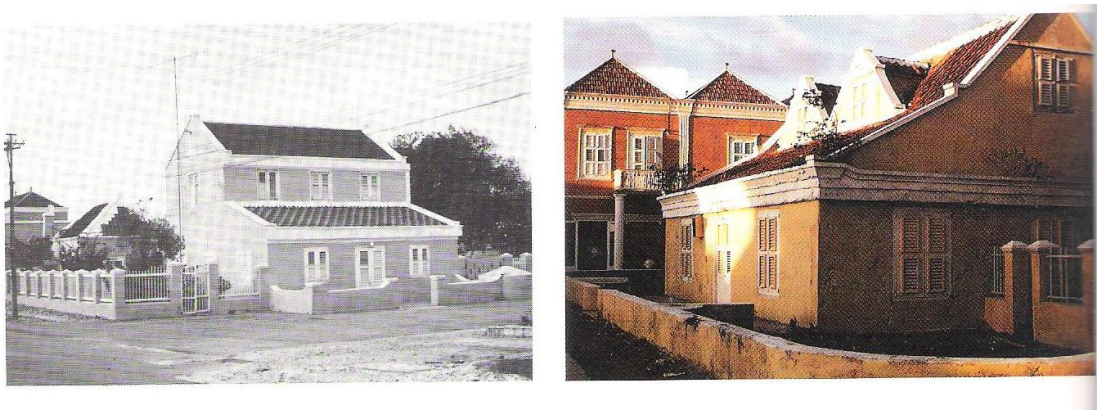

Figure 9. Two houses in the main street of Kralendijk (*Kaya Grandi*), Bonaire.
Both houses have a closed gallery on the ground floor. (In *Building up the future from the past. Studies on the architecture and historic monuments in the Dutch Caribbean*. By Henry E. Coomans, Michael A. Newton and Maritza Coomans-Eustatia. Zutphen, Curaçao: Walburg Pers, Universidat Nashonal di Antia, 1990, 80).

[109] Klomp, 75.
[110] Frans H. Brugman, *The Monuments of Saba. The island of Saba, a Caribbean example* (Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1995).

from 1640 until the end of the twentieth century. A preservation approach as a recommendation is also provided in the book.[111]

Like St. Eustatius, Saba also knew several changes of flags during the colonial period. This not only led to the introduction of different merchandises, but also, to a certain extent, foreign influences that are still reflected in the wooden cottages on the island, with the English influence as predominant.[112] Nevertheless, the influences of neighbouring islands have remained limited. Therefore, the island is also known as "the unspoiled queen".

On Saba the hurricane resistant houses are designed in such a way that they can withstand the severe winds: The so-called "corner braces" constructions function as protective stiffeners, where no openings are included (Figure 10). By adding shutters behind the so-called "English-style" slash windows, protection is created for during the hurricane season (Figure 11). Brugman does not give an explanation or a comparison on what makes these windows "English". Usually the cottages are also decorated with gingerbread elements, as in St. Eustatius and St. Maarten.[113] While Brugman refers to the wooden buildings on Saba as hurricane resistant, Attema claims that on St. Eustatius the stone "hurricane houses" are better than the wooden houses when resisting hurricanes. Further investigation of hurricane resistant houses could clarify the confusion on this topic, especially because Saba and St. Eustatius are in close proximity to each other.

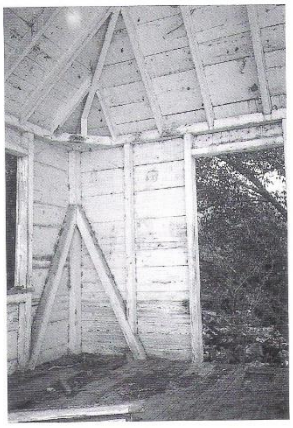

Figure 10. The "corner braces" in the interior of a hurricane resistant house on St. Maarten.
The "corner braces" are connected in a diagonal position from the ground floor up until midway the corner of the walls. (In *The Dutch overseas, architectural survey. Mutual heritage of four centuries in the Continents*. By C.L. Temminck Groll. Zwolle: Uitgeverij Waanders, 2002, 359).

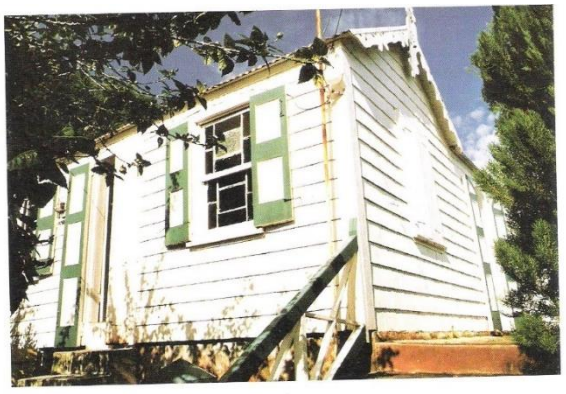

Figure 11. Saba. House with rectangular floorplan.
The cornice consists of the gingerbread. The slash windows are in the so-called "English-style". (In *The monuments of Saba. The island of Saba, a Caribbean example*. By Frans H. Brugman. Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1995, 46).

[111] Brugman, *The Monuments of Saba*, 43, 44.
[112] Brugman, 12, 31, 49.
[113] Brugman 39.

When explaining the architectural influences and the building types on Saba, Brugman opts for a comparison with countries that had a direct or indirect relation to Saba: Other Caribbean islands and European or other countries such as Australia (which was also proclaimed as a British colony). Brugman focuses mostly on a technical comparison. When explaining the stylistic influences on the cottages of Saba, Brugman uses the European style labels to identify certain architectural elements on the Saban buildings. For instance, Brugman mentions the Western European architectural styles "gothic" and "classicistic" elements as part of a stylistic aspect of a church and a school building on Saba, without explaining what exactly makes an element on a Saban building "gothic" or "classicist". With the focus on the architectural techniques and constructions, Brugman does not delve into socio-cultural events on Saba that most likely had an influence on the architectural developments of the island.

The socio-cultural or political-economic developments are also excluded in the publications by Temminck Groll and his former students, Attema and Andel.

Focus on architectural history itself

While most books on the historic architecture of the former Netherlands Antilles were written with the purpose of raising awareness on the importance of monument preservation, this section discusses the publications that focus more on the historic architecture itself instead.[114]

In 1983, the architect and professor Ronald Gill questioned the status quo of the Antillean architecture and the architectural monuments as part of the islands' cultural heritage, during his ceremonial speech for the new academic year at the University of the Netherlands Antilles (now called University of Curaçao): "'*Is een eigen architecktuur op de Antillen mogelijk?' : een analyse"*.[115] It is not known if Gill was aware of the ongoing postcolonial debates in Europe and in South America during the last decades of the twentieth century.

What nowadays is characterised as monument, and as the island's own image, is a product of acculturation of the small group of "white colonisers"; not an acculturation of the big

[114] Relevant monographs are included in the "Further readings" list: Ronald Gill, *Een eeuw architectuur op Curaçao: de architectuur en stedenbouw van de twintigste eeuw op Curaçao* (Curaçao: Stichting Het Curaçaosch Museum, 1999); Ronald Gill. *Volkshuisvesting en woningbouw op de Nederlandse Antillen* (Willemstad: Universiteit van de Nederlandse Antillen/ Curaçao, 1984).

[115] Gill, Ronald. 1983. *'Is een eigen architektuur op de Antillen mogelijk? : een analyse.* Willemstad: Universiteit van de Nederlandse Antillen.

group of African descent.[116] These monuments were not completely accepted as cultural heritage during the 1980s, because they were associated with the historical role of the black population as the inferior, the slave.[117] This critical debate is not touched upon in the previously discussed or other publications on the architecture of the former Netherlands Antilles.

Nowadays there is still a dilemma on Curaçao about these monuments as part of the population's heritage.[118] To answer his own question posed as the title for his speech, Gill is convinced that an approach to the Antillean's own architecture should be undogmatic and without any style characteristics.[119] The Eurocentric or Western fixed formulas and styles in the architectural history are not applicable to the former Netherlands Antilles islands.[120] And indeed, in most publications on the former Netherlands Antilles architecture, this fixed stylistic dogma is not applied.

Temminck Groll collaborated with W. van Alphen for a publication of a comprehensive survey textbook. In 2002 *The Dutch overseas. Architectural Survey. Mutual heritage of four centuries in three continents* was published, and included a chapter on the historic architecture of the former Netherlands Antilles.[121] Temminck Groll and Van Alphen are convinced that this kind of architecture of the former Dutch overseas territories, are more interesting if they are not seen from a Dutch perspective.[122] Temminck Groll and Van Alphen make it clear in the preface that the book is about buildings in countries outside Europe that were linked to the Netherlands during the colonial period. The publication focuses only on the mutual coherence and differences between the objects of the overseas territories; not between these objects and those in the Netherlands.[123] Controversially, this statement, together with the main title of the book "*The Dutch overseas*" indicate a Eurocentric perspective and framework. Instead of writing from a period-styles or typological method,

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[116] Gill, *Is een eigen architektuur op de Antillen mogelijk?*, 10, 11.
[117] Gill, 9.
[118] A friendly remark from art historian Gerda Gehlen (Curaçcao) when she visited Aruba in October 2015; during my internship at the Monuments Office (*Monumentenbureau*).
[119] While Gill speaks in general of the Antilles and other Caribbean islands, it should be noted that not all of the islands, had a majority of the population with African roots. In comparison to the rest of the Caribbean, slavery did not occur on a big scale on Aruba. Furthermore, it only occurred for a short period of time. The Aruba population has accepted historic architecture from the colonial period as their pride. Further information about slave trade on Aruba: Luc Alofs and Leontine Merkies, *Ken ta Arubiano? Sociale integratie en natievorming op Aruba, 1924 – 2001* (Oranjestad, Aruba: VAD/De Wit Stores, 2001), 21, 22.
[120] Gill, 17.
[121] Temminck Groll and Van Alphen, *The Dutch overseas*, 306 – 361.
[122] Temminkc Groll and Van Alphen, 24.
[123] Temminck Groll and Van Alphen, 8, 23.

A

B

C

Figure 12. Villas in the neighbourhood Scharloo.
The villas have a coherent architectural design, reminiscent to Classicism in Western European architecture of the 16th century. (Copyright by Monuments of Curaçao, accessed July 9, 2016, http://www.curacaomonuments.org/).

A.'Villa San Ramon', Scharlooweg 33, 1889. B. 'Villa Maria', Van Brandhofstraat 6, 1885 – 1888. C. 'Kas di Bolo', Scharlooweg 77, 1916 – 1918.

Temminck Groll and Van Alphen chose the geographical method: There are too many mutual relations between buildings within one country to discuss them separately based on their type.[124]

An extensive introduction gives a concise overview of the entire colonial history from the Dutch point of view: "[…] the evolution of the Netherlands within Europe and the development of its overseas territories are viewed in relation to the history of other European countries and their overseas expansion."[125] In the chapter discussing the former Netherlands Antilles, the introduction is a one-sided historical narrative about the changing historical events of the European colonisers. Temminck Groll and Van Alphen do not mention the contribution of the slaves of African descent to history of architecture.

Due to the broad scope, it is understandable that Temminck Groll and Van Alphen scarcely included cultural information in relation to the architecture; they stick to the facts and describe the buildings in architectural terms. However, while doing so, the essence of the buildings is completely obscured. An example is the nineteenth century neighbourhood Scharloo on Curaçao,

[124] Temminck Groll and Van Alphen, 31.
[125] Temminck Groll and Van Alphen, 29.

which was mostly inhabited by Jewish merchants that traded for the most part outside the island. The buildings in which these merchants lived, have or had a typical coherent architectural design which is reminiscent of what is known within the Western architectural history as the "Classicism architectural style" that developed in Europe during the sixteenth century (Figure 12). While describing several buildings in Scharloo briefly, Temminck Groll and Van Alphen leave off other crucial factors that might have influenced the specific aesthetic design or architectural forms of these buildings. Such influences could be the Western European origin of the Jews or if their slaves lived in a separate building on the same terrain. It is not only the buildings themselves that determined the eighteenth century architecture on Curaçao, but also the dynamics around the buildings, such as the slave masters, its family and neighbours, the slaves, the trading relations with other countries, the political-economic state of the island, and so on. A recommended in-depth research on the architecture of Scharloo in relation to the historical, the socio- cultural and the political-economic aspects is the book *Scharloo. A Nineteenth-Century Quarter of Willemstad, Curaçao: Historical Architecture and its Background.*[126]

In 2007 *Bouwen op de wind. Architectuur en Cultuur van Aruba* was published, written by two Dutch architectural historians, Olga van der Klooster and Michel Bakker. In this publication culture played a crucial role within the history of architecture of Aruba. It is a first attempt at a survey textbook on the architecture of Aruba, one which the authors themselves see as a beginning for plenty of further studies on the Aruban architectural history.[127] According to Klooster and Bakker, the built heritage gains more added value when embedding the architectural historical context in cultural history, social dynamics and history of traditions of the island itself. [128] For instance, a tradition that was practiced up until approximately the 1930s was the building of a house on the occasion of a marriage, be it in the rural areas or in mansions in the capital Oranjestad. The groom had to provide his future bride a house for her to move into on the day they got married.[129]

The focus of the book is on a more inclusive frame of reference, instead of a Eurocentric framework of "us versus them" or "superior versus inferior". The authors have distanced themselves from the chronological period-style, and used typology as their writing method.

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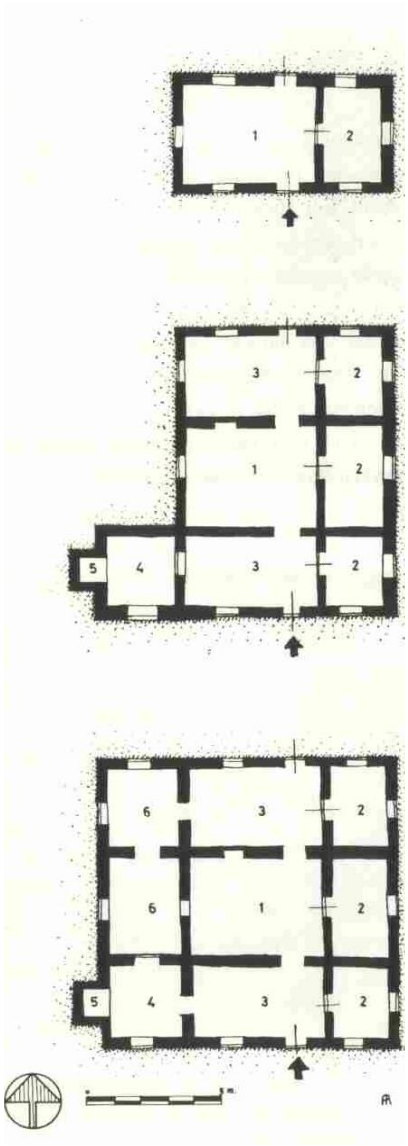
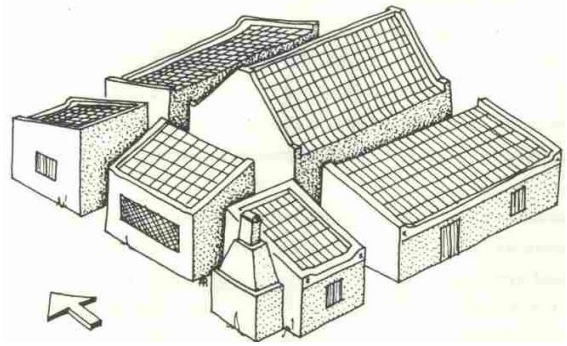
[126] Published by the half-Italian half-Curaçaoan art historian Pauline Pruneti Winkel, as her dissertation in 1987. Pruneti Winkel was guided by Temminck Groll as her promoter. Consult "Further readings" list.
[127] Klooster and Bakker, *Bouwen op de wind*, 12.
[128] Klooster and Bakkker, 11.
[129] Klooster and Bakker, 28.

While Klooster and Bakker have referred a few times to possible influences from several European architectural styles, they did not label the buildings on Aruba with stylistic terms.

The houses mostly built in the *cunucu*, the rural area, during the colonial period up until the 1930s, are coined with the term "*cas di cunucu*" (*cunucu* house) and have similar floor





A

B

Figure 13. A typical example of a *cunucu* house on Aruba.

A. An illustration of a typical expanded *cunucu* house, including the floorplan on the left (top). (Illustration by Anthony Rosenstand. In *Het Arubaanse kunukuhuis*. By A.S. Rosenstand. Delft: T.U. Delft, 1986, 46).

B. "Eloy Arends House (City Hall)", Wilhelminastraat 8, 1925. (Photograph by Hubert de Cuba. Copyright by Stichting Monumentenfonds Aruba, accessed June 1, 2016, http://www.monumentenfondsaruba.com/project/eloy-arends-house-city-hall/.)

plans dependent on climatological circumstances, and were usually expanded over time (Figure 13).[130] The floorplan of the houses in the rural area were also used for the villas and town houses in the busy capital of the island, Oranjestad. Other coherent characteristics in relation to the climatological circumstances were introduced during the first half of the twentieth century by the employees of the Public Services (*Dienst Openbare Werken, D.O.W.*)". Klooster and Bakker coined the architectural designs by the Public Services as the "D.O.W. architecture, influenced by international architectural movements.[131] The buildings are adapted to the climate, with architectural characteristic that protect the interior against the bright sunlight, such as overhanging roofs, protruding concrete canopies and window frameworks, vertical *brises soleil*.

From Eurocentric, to inclusive and cross-cultural

Most of the mentioned publications are written from a European framework in which the aspects discussed in the books on the architecture of the former Netherlands Antilles are seen as somehow inferior to European standards, such as in Van Andel's publication on St. Maarten's traditional architecture. In most discussed books, history of architecture is one-sided. Only the political-economic historical developments and events of the wealthy European colonisers are prominent, meanwhile the possible architectural influences and developments related to the slaves or other less wealthy inhabitants are excluded. Examples are the publications by Attema in 1976 and the in 2002 published survey textbook by Temminck Groll and Van Alphen. Socio-cultural or political-economic background are not included, except for the publication by Klomp, and Klooster and Bakker.

Typology is mostly used as the writing method of the discussed publications above. Moreover, the labelling of styles is not used by the writers to categorise historic architecture on the islands of the former Netherlands Antilles. It seems as if most the writers realised that, to talk about the architecture in the Caribbean, one should not utilise the Western European fixed stylistic dogma. This demonstrates that architectural historiography does not need a fixed dogmatic approach that excludes certain historic buildings, but rather an approach that includes all historic architecture. Not only does this inclusive approach break away from the one-sided factual description of architectural history, but historic architecture itself is better

[130] *Cunucu* is in Papiamento and *kunuku* in Papiamentu. Klooster and Bakker, 23.
[131] Klooster and Bakker, 76.

understood in relation to its surroundings. This inclusiveness was introduced in Klomp's essay on the Bonairean houses and in Klooster and Bakker's architectural history of Aruba, in relation to the socio-cultural historical dynamics and events. Making the framework more inclusive framework could also benefit further research in relation to the rest of the Caribbean by bringing all the cultures together. Similarities and differences could be established and connected to each other within the whole Caribbean and to other parts of the world: A cross-cultural framework.

Almost all of the above mentioned writers agree on the fact that the historic architecture on all six islands is most definitely influenced by the "motherland", and by climatological and environmental circumstances. When analysing all these publications together, it becomes clear that while there are similarities in historic architecture of the former Netherlands Antilles, there are also differences. However, not only functional differences but also linguistic differences: "Verandah", "veranda" and "gallery". While the "verandah" or "veranda" has a protective function against the climatological circumstances, it also had a social function on Saba, St. Eustatius and St. Maarten. The books on Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao did not mention if this part of a building, the "gallery", also had a social function. It is possible that the closed galleries in particular might also have had a social function, but more on a private level of socialising, with invited guests only, instead of conversing with neighbours or passers-by. Further research is needed on this topic.

3. Case study: Former British colonial islands in the Caribbean

Writing on the built history of the former British colonies in the Caribbean was initially also written with the purpose of preserving the monuments on the islands. In comparison to the former Netherlands Antilles islands which saw a rise of preservation awareness mid-twentieth century, the awareness for preserving the built heritage of the former British colonial Caribbean islands started as early as 1908.[132]

This chapter examines how the history of architecture of the former British colonial territories within the Caribbean is written, and the presence or absence of a Eurocentric framework is analysed. The former British colonial Caribbean insular territories consisted of[133]: The Bahamas, Anguilla (UK), Antigua and Barbuda, the British Virgin Islands (UK), Dominica, Monserrat (UK), Saint Kitts and Nevis, Barbados, Grenada, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, the Cayman Islands (UK), Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, and Turks and Caicos Islands (UK).[134] In this chapter, these islands are referred to as "Anglophone Caribbean islands."

In the Netherlands, the amount of publications on the built heritage of the Anglophone Caribbean islands is limited to a few books that are considered to be most prominent. Moreover, there are disproportionately more books about architectural history of the Hispanophone Caribbean islands (Cuba, the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico). A search in WorldCat for publications on historic architecture of the Anglophone Caribbean islands, ultimately reveals Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago as having the most published books. Even so, there is a possibility that not all publications are registered in the WorldCat online library catalogue, but are only available on the islands themselves.

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[132] T.A.L. Concannon, "Preservatíon Of National Monuments In Jamaíca." *Caribbean Quarterly* 9, no. 3 (1963): 4, accessed July 3, 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/40652855.

[133] The islands with "(UK)", indicate the islands as associated dependent states of the United Kingdom.

[134] Both the Bahamas and Turks and Caicos Islands are not located in the Caribbean Sea, but in the Atlantic Ocean. In this chapter they are included, since they went through similar historical events during the colonisation of the Caribbean islands.

A variety of publications

Other unavailable publications in the Netherlands without reviews include: *A report on the chief monuments of : Antigua, the British Virgin Islands, the Cayman Islands, Dominica, Grenada, Montserrat, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent, and the Turks and Caicos Islands* in 1971 by David Buisseret, *Historic houses in Barbados* 1986 by Henry Fraser, *Heritage and the (in)visibility of history : Basseterre, St. Kitts-Nevis* in 2008 by Lavina Olomay Cecelia Liburd, and *The built heritage of Trinidad and Tobago* (by National Trust of Trinidad and Tobago in 2012).[135] The titles indicate that the content of the books aims at preserving historic architecture. Not much can be said on the framework or the writing method. Other books are *Falmouth Jamaica* by Louis P. Nelson in 2014, and *The architecture of Trinidad and Tobago, 1562 – 1962* in the 1962 by Peter Bynoe.[136] A snippet preview of Nelson's publication indicates that this book might lean towards framework that is more inclusive. The focus is on all inhabitants and their influences on historic architecture during the eighteenth and nineteenth century in the town of Fallmouth in Jamaica[137]

Several islands are grouped together in graphic books such as *British West-Indies style: Antigua, Jamaica, Barbados, and beyond* (2010).[138] According to the book summary, this publication describes architecture and interiors of English "great houses" on the Anglophone Caribbean islands, and the lifestyle of the slave masters during the colonial period.[139] The book summary indicates that the framework for photographing the architecture of the Anglophone Caribbean islands is only a one-sided Eurocentric visual impression of the "British West-Indies" architecture.

Stephen A. Mouzon's *A living tradition: architecture of the Bahamas* of 2007 is to a great extent a graphic book focusing solely on describing the architectural traditions of the Bahamas in the past four centuries. It is intended as a workbook directed to a group interested

[135] Consult "Further readings" list.

[136] Consult "Further readings" list: Louis P. Nelson, *Falmouth Jamaica: architecture as history* (Kingston, Jamaica: University of West Indies Press, 2014).

[137] "Fallmouth Jamaica: architecture as history," University of Virginia: School of architecture, accessed July 27, 2016, http://www.arch.virginia.edu/projects/nelson-falmouth.

[138] Michael W. Connors, *British West Indies style: Antigua, Jamaica, Barbados, and beyond* (New York: Rizzoli, 2010), accessed July 21, 2016, https://books.google.nl/books/about/British_West_Indies_Style.html?id=IqaOQwAACAAJ&redir_esc=y.

[139] Ibid.

in continuing to utilise the traditional and sustainable building tradition of the Bahamian architecture for current buildings.[140]

There is almost nothing to be found in the WorldCat online library catalogue about the architecture of Anguilla, Dominica, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent, and the Cayman Islands, except for the 1971 report on monuments by David Buisseret or in *Architectural heritage of the Caribbean: an A-Z of historic buildings* by A.G. Gravette, published in 2000.[141] Gravette's publication is merely a summary of existing research on prominent Caribbean monuments. Gravette is a British writer and lecturer specialised in the Caribbean. In the preface of his publication, Gravette's Eurocentric point of view and framework is reflected.[142] Gravette managed to incorporate several islands within the Western European period-styles writing method without questioning if his approach is justifiable. Architecture in the Caribbean are labelled as Gothic, Romanesque, and so on. Gravette's book is intended as a guide for visitors and students of architecture. However, it should instead be used in the History of Architecture discipline as an example of how other countries are subjected to the Eurocentric framework supported by the European period-styles writing method.

The next sections are not divided between publications aimed at preserving the built history and the shift away from this aim, because most publications are not available in the Netherlands, as mentioned before. In the following, two major publications are explored and are digitally available on the internet and in institutional libraries in the Netherlands.

Crain's *Historic Architecture in the Caribbean islands*

Within the whole Caribbean, monographs or other books have been published about the architecture of individual islands or several islands grouped together. As mentioned in the

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[140] Consult "Further readings" list: Gmyrek, "A Living Tradition [Architecture of the Bahamas]," Congress for the New Urbanism, January 28, 2008, accessed July 21, 2016, http://cnu.civicactions.net/resources/projects/living-tradition-architecture-bahamas-2008.

[141] Gravette's publication is available in the Netherlands at the Royal Library (*Koninklijke Biliotheek*) in The Hague or at the Leidein University Library (*Universiteitsbibliotheek Leidein*) in Leiden. A.G. Gravette, *Architectural heritage of the Caribbean: an A-Z of historic buildings* (Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle Publishers, 2000).

[142] Gravette calls the Caribbean "a treasure-chest of architectural gems", but starts his preface by praising Western European settlers as having most influence on the development of historic architecture in the Caribbean. Additionally, Gravette recognises that the inhabitants from Africa and Asia had some influences on the "wealth of architectural treasures" left behind in the Caribbean by the British, Danish, Dutch, French, Scandinavians and North Americas. Gravette, *Architectural heritage of the Caribbean*, ix.

introduction of this thesis, the North American former professor of architecture Edward Crain managed to publish the first survey book on the historic architecture of the whole Caribbean in 1994: *Historic architecture in the Caribbean islands*. For Crain, the difficulty of covering such a vast subject area, limited the research to covering "only those islands whose buildings are considered to be of greatest architectural and historic value" and were built up until the Second World War. Readers interested in the architectural history of the Caribbean can finally get an overview on the general built history. However, Crain does not give a critical input and draws no connections between or does not mention the differences within the Caribbean as a whole. This briefly one-sided factual documentation, includes the labelling of buildings with stylistic terminologies that originated in Europe, without giving any critical explanation of this.

Each chapter is divided into building type, with each subchapter in turn divided into the European powers that exerted the most significant influences on these islands[143]: English islands, Spanish islands, French islands, and "Dutch islands". Of the first three groups of island territories, Crain discusses three or more islands. For the former Netherlands Antilles, Curacao alone is explored in detail, and is portrayed as representative; and the only other island which is mentioned is St. Maarten

Often times Crain's terminology refers to a certain style, but he does not give an explanation for the use of such terms. For instance, Crain calls the Government House on Saint Kitts an example of "British tropical colonial architecture" (Figure 14).[144] Why is this building not categorised as typical Saint Kitts architecture which was built in the nineteenth century during the colonial period? Crain does not explain what characteristics or factors make this building "British" and "tropical". The term "revival" is also applied, referring to European architectural styles of buildings in the Caribbean, for instance the Gothic revival (Figure 15).[145] Reviving historic architecture was all about the character of a building and the impression it left on viewers; an impression in coherence with the function and social meaning of the building.[146] In the United Kingdom, the neo-Gothic was a reaction to the Industrial Revolution; the pre-industrial medieval period was seen by architects as the

[143] Crain, ix.
[144] Crain, 101.
[145] Crain, Plate 33, plate 35, plate 44,
[146] Bosman, 461 – 463, 466; Kostof, 547 – 569.

national style.[147] How was Trinidad or other islands in the Caribbean related to the British Middle Ages in order to "bring back" this characteristic in architecture?

Figure 14. The Government House, c. 1882, Basseterre, Saint Kitts.
Crains's example of "British tropical colonial architecture." (Copyright by Basseterre Past and Present, accessed August 6, 2016, http://historicbasseterre.com/Albums.asp?HSID=6).

Figure 15. Philip Reinagle, Holy Trinity Cathedral, 1823, Port of Spain, Trinidad.
An example of "Gothic revival" in Trinidad, according to Crain. (Copyright by the Anglican Church in the Diocese of Trinidad and Tobago, accessed August 6, 2016, http://theanglicanchurchtt.com/home-page/gallery/north-west-region-gallery/holy-trinity-cathedral/).

Hobson's dissertation: Breaking away from the Eurocentric framework

After Crain's publication, no academic research on the Caribbean architecture has been carried out, except for Gravette's summarised book on existing researches. In 2007, a comprehensive and rigorous research was published by Daphne Hobson, an architect and historic preservationist born on the Caribbean island of Nevis.[148] Prior to her research an information gap existed on this topic within the specific period 1624 – 1726. Her dissertation focuses on the historic houses of the four main islands of the British "Leeward" colonies during the first hundred years of colonisation: "The domestic architecture of the earliest British colonies in the American tropics: a study of the houses of the Caribbean 'Leeward' Islands of St. Christopher, Nevis, Antigua and Montserrat, 1624-1726". The four studied islands are indeed part of the tropical zone, but Hobson does not explain why she uses the term "American tropics" to indicate the location of the islands. Hobson's study suggests that there is a need to recognise the colonial period as being multi-cultural. This need is not about

[147] Kostof, 549.
[148] Daphne Louise Hobson, "The domestic architecture of the earliest British colonies in the American tropics: a study of the houses of the Caribbean 'Leeward' Islands of St. Christopher, Nevis, Antigua and Montserrat, 1624-1726" (PhD diss., Georgia Institute of Technology, 2007), accessed July 15, 2016, https://smartech.gatech.edu/handle/1853/26661?show=full.

recovering the histories of those that had been largely neglected, but "to recover the reality of the Colonial past, to revisit the history and records of a wide Colonial America without Eurocentric perceptions."[149] Hobson includes in her research the political, economic, cultural and social developments that played a role in the formation of the built history during that time period.

In chapter two of her dissertation, Hobson gives a brief overview of several popular publications on the historic architecture in the Caribbean. According to Hobson, Crain's and Gravette's book seems to be widely accepted publications regarding architectural history of the Caribbean islands. It is remarkable that while Hobson strives for a more inclusive architectural historical description of the Caribbean islands, she did not put Gravette's publication in a critical spotlight. Gravette's book contradicts Hobson's own framework and writing method.

The emphasis of Hobson's study is on the adaptation of the coloniser to their environment. Alternatively, Hobson not only includes historical information on slaves of African descent, but also incorporates information about less fortunate English and Irish European servants that had a similar civil status to that of the African-origin slaves.[150] A turning point in the history of the "Leeward" islands was the introduction of sugar cane as a trade good with the Dutch for equipment and for African labour.[151] Not only did the individual planters profit from the sugar production, but a network of business activities and industries was generated in the whole Caribbean as well as in Europe. Apart from historic architecture on the "Leeward" islands, Hobson also refers to how building practices of domestic architecture were carried out by the Caribs in the Caribbean[152] and on the British Isles and France in Europe during the first century of colonisation.[153] Furthermore, Hobson researched how the Irish and English servants, the African descendants, the Caribs, and the overall trade in the region might have had architectural influences in North American cities.

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[149] Hobson, "The domestic architecture of the earliest British colonies in the American tropics", 347.

[150] The English and Irish Europeans servants were also treated abysmally during their limited working period on the islands. Hobson, 3, 16 – 20.

[151] Hobson, 30, 31.

[152] The Caribs were the inhabitants on these islands prior to the colonisation by Europeans. Hobson, 5.

[153] Hobson, 97 – 122.

Figure 16. Hurricane resistant house in Gingerland, Nevis. (Photograph by Daphne Hobson. In "The domestic architecture of the earliest British colonies in the American tropics." By Daphne Hobson. PhD diss., Georgia Institute of Technology, 2007, 271, accessed July 15, 2016, https://smartech.gatech.edu/handle/1853/26661?show=full) .

Figure 17. "Town houses in Basseterre with a shade entry."
(Photograph by Daphne Hobson. In "The domestic architecture of the earliest British colonies in the American tropics." By Daphne Hobson. PhD diss., Georgia Institute of Technology, 2007, 217, accessed July 15, 2016, https://smartech.gatech.edu/handle/1853/26661?show=full).

The adaptation of building practices to the climatological circumstances by the earlier settlers on Saint Kitts (St. Christopher), Nevis, Antigua and Montserrat are discussed: Low buildings were more resistant to hurricanes than the tall ones and the destroyed stone

buildings were replaced by wooden ones.[154] Houses were raised on stone basements to accommodate for the sloping nature of the islands (Figure 16).

Similar to the "veranda" on St. Maarten or "verandah" on St. Eustatius, the affluent planters on Saint Kitts also built these extensions as part of the house, calling them "shades" (Figure 17). These "shades" had also a social function between the public and the interior during this period. However, the vulnerability of these "shades" during hurricane seasons prevented the less affluent inhabitants from building them.[155] With this information the following question arises: Were the verandas on St. Maarten and St. Eustatius, and other "Windward" islands in the Caribbean during this same period, also mostly built by the wealthy planters? How is this social and economic factor related to the galleries on Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao? Further research is needed on this topic.

[154] Hobson supports her statements with citations from eighteenth century notes by European officials on the islands: "About 5 o'clock...began a mighty Earthquake, with so much Violence, that almost all the Houses in Charlestown [in Nevis], which were of Brick or Stone, were in an Instant levell'd with the Ground, and those built of Timber shook....[…]." Cited by Hobson, from John Oldmixon, a public official in Montserrat that wrote on the buildings and cisterns in Nevis (See "Further readings" for Oldmixon, 1741 #57 Vol.II p 253). Hobson, 46146, 147, 155, 156, 176, 177, 184.

[155] Hobson, 216 – 218.

Hobson herself gives some further study suggestions including, among others, the recognition of the close ties between the Caribbean and the North American colonies. These two areas did not develop in isolation. Trading and family ties connected these regions to each other and the United Kingdom.[156]

Multi-cultural and cross-cultural

While both Crain and Hobson tried to include more factors that have contributed to the Caribbean architecture in comparison to the early publications on the historic architecture of the former Netherlands Antilles, only Hobson took a more inclusive approach as the research framework. Hobson suggests that the colonial period should be seen from a multi-cultural perspective. This perspective can lead to a framework that is more inclusive in which multiple cultures within a country are included in the historiography of architecture. However, with a multi-cultural framework, research still does not go beyond the borders of one country. With a cross-cultural approach, all the cultures of the different countries are brought together in order to establish similarities and differences. With this approach the connections and disparities are compared to each other, within the whole Caribbean and to other parts of the world.

Therefore, further research on historic architecture of the former Netherlands Antilles or the whole Caribbean should be approached from both a multi-cultural as well as a cross-cultural framework.

[156] Hobson, 359.

4. Case study: Former Spanish colonial islands in the Caribbean

This chapter will analyse if the historiography of architecture of the three Hispanophone Caribbean islands Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic, are also researched from a European framework or not. Additionally, the writing methods of the publications are discussed. In several publications, the Hispanophone Caribbean islands are regarded as part of Latin America due to the similar shared colonial past and a similar ethnic diversification.[157] For discussing the books in which the Caribbean is considered as part of Latin America, the focus remains on the historiographical description of the three Hispanophone Caribbean islands.

Since the 1970s and indeed throughout the entire second half of the twentieth century, the Western European canon of architectural history was taught in terms of style, typology, and the importance of the architect, depending on the period in Latin America and the Hispanophone Caribbean islands academia.[158] However, local and regional history of Latin American architecture, which included the three Hispanophone Caribbean islands, was structured in terms of urban history in textbooks.[159] It was the Argentinian architect Marina Waisman who criticised this limited architectural history of Latin America in her publication *El interior de la historia, historiografía arquitectónica para uso latinoamericano* in 1993.[160] It could not be said with certainty if Waisman was aware of the ongoing critical postcolonial debates in the United Kingdom. For Waisman, the Eurocentric framework and the period-styles always made Latin American architecture seem second grade.[161] As an alternative, Waisman suggested a two-step approach in which the first step focuses on the broad perspective of a given object. Here different factors characterise a work of architecture, such

[157] Iggers, Wang and Mukherjee, *A global history of modern historiography*, 290.
[158] Torre, 552, 553.
[159] Torre does not specify if the Hispanophone Caribbean islands also followed the same pedagogy method. Torre, 554.
[160] English translation: The inside of history, architectural historiography for the Latin America use. Consult "Further readings" list. Marina Waisman, *El interior de la historia: historiografía arquitectónica para uso de Latinoamericanos* (Bogotá: ESCALA, 1990), accessed April 12, 2016, https://www.scribd.com/document/34055583/El-Interior-de-La-Historia.
[161] Amir Peleg, "Dream and Reality. Modern Architecture in Palestine: 1930 – 1938," *DC Papers. Revista de crítica i teoría de l'arquitectura*, no. 9-10 (2003): 50, accessed April 12, 2016, http://upcommons.upc.edu/bitstream/handle/2099/2225/05.dream_and_reality.pdf.

as the form, structure and function, and the relationship with its environment.[162] The second step is to go into more detailed research on the influences of production of the object: The construction and planning progress, architectural theories, social needs and cultural developments in each Latin American country.[163] By bringing these factors together, the research framework includes more of the factors that played a role in realising a building or a set of buildings.

In the Netherlands, there is a lack of books on the architectural history of the three Hispanophone Caribbean islands. An overview of the prominent architectural history books is discussed in the article "The history of art in Latin America, 1500 – 1800" by Elizabeth Wilder Weismann written in 1975, and the book *A guide to the art of Latin America* by Smith and Wilder Weisman.[164] An example of a prominent book that includes the historic architecture of the Hispanophone Caribbean islands, is the *Historia del arte hispanoamericano* by Angulo Iñiguez, Dorta and Buschiazzo with the first volume published in 1945.[165] Here, architecture is categorised as art.

Prominent publications

The publications in this section are not available in institutional or public libraries in the Netherlands.

As with the other Caribbean islands, architectural history books of the Hispanophone Caribbean islands published from around the mid-twentieth century onwards, were initially aimed at raising awareness about the built heritage and the importance of its preservation.[166] However, only in the second half of the same century did publications on preservation and

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[162] Amir Peleg, "Dream and Reality," 50, 51.

[163] Waisman, *El interior de la historia*, 127, 128, 130, 135.

[164] Elizabeth Wilder Weismann, "The history of art in Latin America. Some trends and challenges in the last decade," *Latin American Research Review* 10, no. 1 (Spring, 1975): 7 – 50; Robert C. Smith and Elizabeth Wilder, *A guide to the art of Latin America* (New York: Arno Press, 1972).

[165] Volume 2 and 3 published in 1950 and 1956 respectively. Consult "Further readings" list: Diego Angulo Iñiguez, Enrique Marco Dorta and Mario José Buschiazzo, *Historia del arte hispanoamericano* vol. 1 – 3 (Barcelona: Salvat, 1945 – 1956).

[166] Concerns about preservation issues of the cultural patrimony and the built heritage in Latin America began to arise during the first half of the twentieth century. This issue was discussed during the Pan-American Congresses. Cuba joined the first congress in 1924, and later on Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic also formed part of the following congresses. The aim of the congress was to establish a network of communications in the America's. The first one in 1924 in Montevideo, Uruguay. Torre, 552.

monuments began to arise.[167] They have contributed both to preserving the built heritage of the islands, as well as their history of architecture.

During the second half of the twentieth century, books discussing architectural history of Hispanophone Caribbean island individually, were increasingly being published; both as surveys as well as monographs. Most of these publications focus mainly on the capital city of each island, for instance La Habana in Cuba, San Juan in Puerto Rico and Santo Domingo in the Dominican Republic.

The monograph *Arquitectura colonial cubana* by the architect Joaquín Weiss y Sánchez in 1960 is considered to be one of the prominent books about Cuban architectural history.[168] The book was not only perceived as prominent, but was also criticised in 1999 as being a rereading of a text on Spanish influences instead of a statement of Cuban achievements.[169] In mid-twentieth century Cuba, the island invested a lot of effort in rewriting survey textbooks.[170] These books were written by architectural history instructors in Cuban schools of architecture, providing a different point of view, and analysing buildings as manifestations of socio-economic relationships. For example, Robert Segre's 1970 *Cuba: arquitectura de la revolución*, concerning the architecture built during the Cuban revolution.[171] Other publications regarding the Cuban historic architecture have a broad range of topics: Francisco Prat Puig wrote in 1947 *El pre-barroco en Cuba* on Moorish architecture within a Creole setting; María Luisa Lobo Montalvo et al. wrote in 2000 *La Habana: historia y arquitectura de una Ciudad romántica* in which the capital of Cuba is portrayed as a romantic city; *La casa cubana: colonia y eclecticismo* focuses on the colonial and eclectic architecture of Cuban houses, published by José Ramón Soraluce Blond in 2005.[172]

Information about the development of architectural historiography of Puerto Rico is scarce. There is also a lack of publications on the historic architecture of Puerto Rico.[173] An

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[167] Consult "Further readings" list: Erwin Walter Palm's *Los monumentos arquitectónicos de la Española* (the Dominican Republic) in 1955, *Los monumentos nacionales de la República de Cuba* by Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring in 1957, and *Descripción general de los principales monumentos históricos: [de] Puerto Rico* by Mario José Buschiazzo in 1956.

[168] Consult "Further readings" list: John A. Loomis, *Revolution of forms: Cuba's forgotten art school* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1999), 5.

[169] Ibid.; Nancy Stout and Jorge Rigau, *Havana = La Habana* (New York: Rizzoli, 1994), 5.

[170] The reason might have to do with the Communist ideologies of the government in the second half of the twentieth century. Torre, 552.

[171] Torre, 552. Consult "Further reading" list: Robert Segre, *Cuba: arquitectura de la revolución* (Barcelona: Editorial G. Gili, 1970).

[172] Consult "Further reading" list.

[173] Smith and Wilder, *A guide to the art of Latin America*, 35.

explanation for this lack of historiography might be related the function and position of Puerto Rico during the colonial years in comparison to Cuba and the Dominican Republic: Puerto Rico did not play an extensive role in colonial affairs, nor did it experience a wave of nationalism.[174] Prominent architectural history books are, among others, *Architecture in Puerto Rico* by José A. Fernández in 1965, and *Arquitectura en San Juan de Puerto Rico (siglo XIX)* by María de los Angeles Castro Arroyo in 1980.[175]

The Dominican Republic is considered to have the most important buildings dating from the early years of colonisation by the Spanish.[176] An abundance of books has been published on historic architecture of the island: *Ecos de arquitectura clásica en el nuevo mundo (la formación de la casa dominicana)* by Erwin Walter Palm in 1941 as a prominent book.[177] In 2008 the Dominican architect Gustavo Luis Moré published *Historias para la construcción de la arquitectura dominicana (1492-2008)*, which translates to "Histories for constructing the Dominican architecture (1492 – 2008)".[178] An English edition has not been published. From the title, an impression of the book's content can be derived: Historic architecture of the Dominican Republic is formed by different historic events that are all linked together. The framework might include more than just the standard period-styles or typology approach for the writing method. This impression was precisely what the author was aiming for.[179] The book is intended mainly for academics and is divided into periods.

"Latin America and the Caribbean"

Books discussed in this section can be found at the library of the University of Amsterdam.

The oldest publication regarding art and architecture of one or all of the three Hispanophone Caribbean islands dates from 1935 by the Argentinean historian Miguel Solá,

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[174] Smith and Wilder, *A guide to the art of Latin America*, 35.

[175] Consult "Further readings" list: Jorge Ortiz Colom, "Historiografía de la Arquitectura," Scribd, February 1, 2011, accessed April 26, 2016, https://www.scribd.com/doc/47986566/Historiografia-de-la-Arquitectura#logout.

[176] Smith and Wilder, 18, 19.

[177] Consult "Further readings" list: *La arquitectura dominicana en la era de Trujillo. Álbum 1* By Henry Gazon in 1949, *Santo Domingo: guía de arquitectura = an architectural guide*, written in both the Spanish as well as the English language by Emilio José Brea in 2006, and *Arquitectura popular dominicana* by Núñez, Víctor and Brea García in 2009.

[178] Consult "Further readings" list.

[179] Original citation: "*Según Gustavo Luis Moré, '[...] el título de este volumen quiere identificar un flujo histórico que logra construir una idea de la arquitectura dominicana.'*" La Redacción, "Historias por la construcción de la arquitectura dominicana (1492 – 2008)," *Diario Digital RD*, November 21, 2008, accessed July 22, 2016, http://diariodigital.com.do/2008/11/21/historias-para-la-construccion-de-la-arquitectura-dominicana-1492-2008/.

Figure 18. Francisco Guerrero y Torres, Capilla del Pocito, 1777 – 1792, Mexico City, Mexico.
The Pocito Chapel as part of the Basilica of Our Lady of Guadalupe. Indigenous architectural characteristics are combined with European influences. (Photograph by Valeria Torrens. Copyright by Valeria Torrens Fotografía, accessed August 6, 2016, http://valeriatorrens.blogspot.nl/2011/12/villa-de-guadalupe-mexico.html).

Historia del Arte hispano-americano.[180] The description of the architecture for each political territory was approached from the period-styles method. The image that Solá has given about the architecture, was based on the historical events of the wealthy European colonisers on the islands. The

Hispanophone Caribbean islands are not the main topic, but are rather an addition to the description of Latin American art and architecture. For Solá, the buildings erected during the seventeenth century in the Dominican Republic, Cuba and Puerto Rico, are without a doubt Spanish.[181] However, he finds that these Spanish styles, when imported to Central and South America, "suffered" when architects in Mexico applied local influences together with Western European styles for the designs of buildings.[182] The original inhabitants of Mexico, such as the Mayas and Aztecs, had an artistic indigenous tradition that Solá categorised as ornamental and picturesque. The result was a distinctive design not seen before in Europe (Figure 18). Nonetheless, Solá saw this fusion of styles as a bad thing for the European styles. Solá's Eurocentric framework uncritically establishes the idea that the European architectural styles are superior and have universal validity.

[180] Miguel Solá, *Historia del arte hispoano-americano: arquitectura, escultura, pintura y arte menores el a América Española durante los siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII* (Barcelona: Editorial Labor, S.A., 1935).

[181] Solá, *Historia del arte hispoano-americano*, 30.

[182] Most architects came from Spain or were trained at the *Academia de Bellas Artes* in Mexico, with a pedagogy based on the model of the Spanish *Academia de San Fernando* in Madrid. The academy in Madrid was, in turn, based on the French *Beaux-Arts* pedagogy of the *Académie Royale d'Architecure*. Solá 30; Torre, 549, 550. Solá, 43.

Solá recognises his book as bringing arts of Latin America together for the first time in one publication.[183] Nevertheless, despite listing a bibliography list, he does not support his texts with notes regarding the sources of his acquired information.

According to Solá, Hispano-American art started in Santo Domingo (capital of the Dominican Republic) with the building of several churches. Solá describes the churches as having architectural elements that match those in Spain during the transition from Gothic to Renaissance.[184] Sola continues his short description about architecture on Cuba during the colonial period. On Cuba, building activities were mainly focused on the military architecture, as the island was frequently attacked by pirates and buccaneers.[185] The capital of Cuba, Havana (in Spanish: La Habana), with its religious buildings, was the most artistic area of the entire island.

While Solá dedicated a few pages to the historic architecture of these two islands, he reserved three sentences for the arts of Puerto Rico.[186]

Publications in English also categorise the three Hispanophone islands in the Caribbean as an addition to Latin American architecture. Published in 1959, the English book *Art and Architecture in Spain and Portugal and their American dominions, 1500 – 1800,* by George Kubler and Martin Soria, brought all art disciplines together by dividing the book into three parts: Architecture (Kubler), sculpture (Soria) and painting (Soria).[187] According to the authors, prior to this publication, there existed no other books with such a research scope. Without any explanation for it, Puerto Rico is not included in the publication. Kubler also leaves out possible influences of the inhabitants of the neighbouring country of the Dominican Republic: Haiti.

The main concern for the authors is style.[188] Using the same European framework as Solá, Kubler emphasises only historic architecture of the wealthy or religious colonisers from Spain. As the Dominican Republic was first colonised by the Spanish, the emigrant architects from Spain gave the island the appearance of a Spanish city. This appearance had nothing to do with possible native traditions prior to colonisation, according to Kubler.[189]

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[183] Solá, 6.
[184] Solá, 22.
[185] Solá, 33.
[186] Solá, 38.
[187] George Kubler and Martin Soria, *Art and Architecture in Spain and Portugal and their American Dominions, 1500 – 1800* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1959).
[188] Kubler and Soria, *Art and Architecture in Spain and Portugal and their American Dominions*, XXV.
[189] Kubler and Soria, 62.

Mid-sixteenth century, La Habana, the capital of Cuba, took over Santo Domingo's position as the principal port connecting Europe to America.[190] For defending La Habana, fortifications were not only built in the capital of Cuba, but also on the adjoining peninsulas of Florida (United States of America) and Yucatan (Mexico). With this intense focus constructing fortifications, other architectural developments were inhibited on the island.

The chapter that discusses architecture after 1760 is titled "The Caribbean Style after 1760." Kubler notices a change in architectural style in La Habana during this period.[191] This change was related to the changing of the main shipping ports in Spain in 1717; from Seville to Cádiz. The architecture during this period had traditional characteristics of its own, according to Kubler. Without giving an explanation as to how it arose, Kubler identifies a typical Cuban style, characterised by the use of pyramidal masonry spires with arched window openings on four sides of the tower (Figure 19).[192] Neo-classical influences are also apparent in Cuban historic architecture in Cuba during the eighteenth century. In the end Kubler does not discuss what the "Caribbean Style" is precisely.

Figure 19. *Iglesia de Nuestra Señora de la Merced*, 1865 – 1867, Camagüey, Cuba.
A church (left) in the so-called "typical Cuban style" with a spire tower and arched window openings on all four sides of the tower. (Photograph by Wolfgang. Copyright by ipernity, accessed July 10, 2016, http://www.ipernity.com/doc/wolfgang-pfriemer/36679998).

[190] Kubler and Soria, 65.
[191] Kubler and Soria, 66.
[192] Kubler and Soria, 67.

The following sections discuss each island individually based on available publications on the architecture in the Netherlands, but excludes Puerto Rico due to a lack of academic research publications in the institutional or public Dutch libraries.

Erwin Walter Palm's Eurocentric framework

In the Dominican Republic, it has been accepted that the island's historiography on architecture and urbanism started with the writings of the German art historian Erwin Walter Palm.[193] Palm received his training in the field of art history in Germany during the period when Wölfflin's *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe* was very influential. The importance of style labelling and Wölfflin's Eurocentrism are reflected in Palm's writing about architecture on the Dominican Republic.

Palm's *Arquitectura y arte colonial en Santo Domingo* from 1974 can be consulted at the library of the University of Amsterdam.[194] The book consists of a bundle of essays written by Palm himself which were originally published in several local academic journals, such as the *Anales de la Universidad de Santo Domingo* or *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación*.[195] The majority of the essays, not bundled in specific chronological order, compare historic architecture of the Dominican Republic to that of Spain. Palm focuses solely on public buildings or the houses of the famous or wealthy emigrated Spaniards on the Dominican Republic.

In one of his essays, Palm compares Dominican houses to ancient Roman or Pompeiian architectural characteristics and floor plans. It appears that several main ancient Roman architectural characteristics were not included or were changed in the similar floor plan used for Dominican house.[196] Further in the essay, Palm states that Dominican houses are a reflection of Andalusian architecture in Spain. The emigrated Spanish architects introduced the Dominican island with Andalusian architecture. The building designs in Andalusia were

[193] Palm was known for the already mentioned *Monumentos arquitectónicos de la Española*. Diario Libre, "A partir de Palm comienza la historiografía dominicana de arquitectura y urbanismo," *Diario Libre*, July 25, 2006, accessed July 22, 2016, http://www.diariolibre.com/revista/a-partir-de-palm-comienza-la-historiografa-dominicana-sobre-arquitectura-y-urbanismo-BJDL103626.

[194] Erwin Walter Palm, *Arquitectura y arte colonial en Santo Domingo* (República Dominicana: Editora de la Universidad Autónoma de Santo Domingo, 1974).

[195] Palm, *Arquitectura y arte colonial en Santo Domingo*, 6

[196] Palm, 14, 15.

adapted to the warm weather which resulted in buildings with an open character for optimal air circulation.[197]

Linking the domestic architecture or floorplans directly to that of the ancient Roman period is not only a Eurocentric perspective, but is also a conflict of two cultures that did not develop simultaneously and similarly during the colonial period. It is comprehensible that Palm wants to point out that the Dominican architectural characteristics during the colonial period is a result of developments that can be traced back to the ancient Roman architectural characteristics and floorplans. Developments in Andalusia have been directly influenced by the ancient Roman civilisation. However, a logical approach would have been to firstly compare Andalusian historic buildings of the sixteenth and seventeenth century to that of ancient Roman architecture floorplans. Based on the results of this comparison, a link can be made between Andalusian architecture and that of the Dominican Republic during the colonial period.

As mentioned before, the Dominican Republica share the island Hispaniola with Haiti. However, possible influences on architecture of the Dominican Republic from the French settlers on Haiti are not included. Palm might have initiated the historiography on architecture and urbanism in the Dominican Republic, but a revision and a different approach is needed to describe Dominican architectural history. To understand the developments of architecture on the Dominican Republic, different historical events on the island should be taken in consideration.

Thematic approach by Scarpaci, Segre and Coyula

As mentioned before, there are plenty of publications on the built heritage of Cuba, mostly focusing on Havana, both in English and Spanish. This section discusses the book *Havana: two faces of the Antillean metropolis* by Joseph L. Scarpaci, Roberto Segre and Mario Coyula, which is available at the library of the University of Amsterdam.[198] The authors do not have a similar academic background: The American Scarpaci has a human geography background; the Italian Segre is architect and a historian; and Coyula is a Cuban architect.

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[197] Palm, 25.

[198] This book is the revised edition of the 1997 publication. Joseph L. Scarpai, Roberto Segre and Mario Coyula, *Havana: two faces of the Antillean metropolis* (Chappel Hill [u.a.]: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); Segre, Roberto, Mario Coyula, and Joseph L. Scarpaci*, Havana: two faces of the Antillean metropolis,* (Chichester: Wiley, 1997).

Together they combined their expertise, producing a history of architecture of Havana that includes social and economic developments, diversification of people in the capital, and contemporary challenges and opportunities in this city. Unlike Solá, Kubler, and Palm, Scarpaci et al. approached their writing from a thematic method.

The writers do not go in detailed explanations of the historic architectural designs. Furthermore, they do not list a vast number of important buildings. On the contrary, Scarpaci et al. give a brief explanation of the different designs that have been realised in a specific period, in relation to several developments that occurred during that same period; both on Cuba as well as in other countries in the Caribbean. This establishing of links makes historic architecture more comprehensible. Historic events are not only focusing on developments of the wealthy Spanish settlers in Havana, but also on different classes of society, and how the Creoles reacted negatively to certain designs that were reminders of colonial power.[199]

Scarpaci et al. relates certain changes in Havana's city planning to historic events and climatological impacts during the colonial period, such as the fall of the city to the English in 1762, and the hurricane Santa Teresa that exposed the vulnerability of the residential structures in 1768.[200] This placing of relations between developments and historic events is lacking in the publications by Solá and by Kubler. While Solá and Kubler mention several architectural styles in Cuba, Scarpaci et al. explain how the transitioning into a certain style took place on Cuba.[201] For instance, neoclassical architecture, which was associated with rationality and the French Revolution in the eighteenth century, made its way through French immigration to Cuba via Haiti, and through other powerful persons or organisations.[202]

More inclusive: Scarpaci et al., Klooster and Bakker, and Hobson

In comparison to the former Netherlands Antilles and Anglophone Caribbean islands, the period-styles writing method is abundantly applied for categorising and validating the historic architecture of the Hispanophone Caribbean islands. It is understandable that this approach is used: The period-styles method can give an overview of several different types of historic architecture on the Hispanophone Caribbean islands. However, it excludes those that do not fit according to Western European stylistic labels. This results in a biased view on the history

[199] Scarpaci, Segre and Coyula, *Havana*, 37.
[200] Scarpaci, Segre and Coyula, 23 – 25.
[201] Scarpaci, Segre and Coyula, 30.
[202] Ibid.

of architecture of the Hispanophone Caribbean islands from a Eurocentric perspective and framework.

When comparing Scarpaci et al. with Klooster and Bakker, and Hobson, they all approached their publication from a framework that is more inclusive. However, Klooster and Bakker's focus was on the historic socio-cultural developments, and Hobson and Scarpaci et al. focused on historic social and political- economic developments. Scarpaci et al., Klooster and Bakker, and Hobson did not only break away from the Eurocentric framework, but have also shifted away from the period-styles writing method. Instead, they have instead used a typology or thematic writing method.

5. A guide: Caribbean islands of the Kingdom of the Netherlands

For most of the discussed publications in the previous chapters, several questions were repeatedly raised regarding (external) factors that might have played a great role in the development of the historic architecture in the Caribbean, but are not included in the text being explored. The publications with a Eurocentric or Western framework in particular, and those written from a period-styles method, have produced exclusive and biased academic research results: A one-sided documentation of architectural developments. The emphasis was on the wealthy European settlers, while disregarding the contribution of "non-Europeans" to intra-insular or inter-insular developments.

Since the inception of the critical debate on Eurocentrism in architectural history by Baydar and Bozdogan during the last decades of the twentieth century, approaches in publications have become more inclusive. Baydar and Bozdogan not only criticised the exclusivity of historiography of architecture, but also urged for academia to incorporate this critical debate as part of the discipline's curriculum. In the Netherlands, as researched by Heynen and De Jonge, History of Architecture programmes are focused on the Western European tradition and rarely include architecture that is not considered "Western". Being trained within this Western European tradition and applying it in practice, must have put early architectural historians and other academics in a difficult position when researching historic architecture of the former Netherlands Antilles.

As a history of architecture student interning on Aruba, the author of this thesis has also applied the knowledge of the Western European academic tradition during the internship research, with a critical eye on the writing method. The research aims to include socio-cultural developments that have played a role during the first half of the nineteenth century on the historic architecture of the buildings in the shopping street of the city San Nicolas, at the south-east end of the island.[203] The conclusion states that the dominant architectural style of these building is the *Nieuwe Bouwen* architecture. This European architecture was adapted on Aruba to climatological circumstances. This labelling of the buildings with a European architectural style without raising questions on the justifiability of stylistic categorisation, reflects a Eurocentric framework. Questions that were not asked are, among others: Did the

[203] Ichmarah Kock, "Tropische bouwkunst in San Nicolas: Stad van de Moderne Architectuur" (Internship research, Monumentenbureau Aruba, Universiteit van Amsterdam, 2016).

architects have training on the principles of *Nieuwe Bouwen*, or did they have a connection to the Netherlands? Was the architecture of the buildings in the shopping street more façade architecture inspired by *Nieuwe Bouwen*?

This internship research is an example for future architectural historians to be aware of possible pitfalls of the Eurocentric or Western framework when researching historic architecture of the former Netherlands Antilles islands.

Research and writing

This section provides a guide for future comprehensive research on the historic architecture of the former Netherlands Antilles, from a perspective and framework that is more inclusive. This basic guide is not intended to reinvent the wheel. Rather, to improve future research in conformity with contemporary research changes on perspectives and frameworks. This improvement does not mean a fixed step-by-step guidance, but instead is intended to give researchers a helping hand on aspects that should be taken in consideration when researching architectural history of the former Netherlands Antilles.

As basis for this guide, the three-step approach outlined in the article published in 1983 "The first comparative studies of Caribbean architecture" by the American anthropologist, Jay D. Edwards, is used. Additionally, Waisman's two-step approach is also taken in consideration. It is not the intention to give a descriptive overview of the steps of Edwards' approach, but to highlight the intention of these steps with feedback.

Edwards sees the Caribbean as a nation, a single complex entity that shares common historical, cultural and economic themes, and peculiar problems of linguistic, geographic and political diversity.[204] While research results of the built history of the architecture of the Caribbean islands were valuable and important, Edwards realised that there was a lack of common focus and especially a common methodology.[205] To study the entire region, Edwards proposes a shared study to understand cultural history developments of each insular community. His suggestion of a common method, especially because of the diversity within the Caribbean, could also be applicable for a shared study on the historic architecture of the former Netherlands Antilles islands.

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[204] Edwards, "The first Comparative studies of Caribbean architecture," *New West Indian Guide/ Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* 57, no. 3 – 4: 174.
[205] Ibid.

Edwards' approach consists of three steps[206], but in this thesis an additional first step is included: (1) Agreement on multi-cultural and cross-cultural framework, (2) data collection through field research of buildings, (3) examination of historic documents and archive materials, (4) the comparative method.

The first step begins with determining which academics could form part of the research of the former Netherlands Antilles. It is recommended to work in a team of two or more writers, who are possibly but not necessarily, each specialised in a different field that could be relevant during the research. However, it is necessary for those involved to be aware off the pitfalls of Eurocentrism and to agree on an approach with a framework that is multi-cultural and cross-cultural. While Scarpaci et al., and Klooster and Bakker do not literally state in the introduction of their publication their aim of a more inclusive framework, they succeeded in distancing their research from Eurocentrism. Therefore, when researching historic architecture of the former Netherlands Antilles, it is fundamental to explain in the research introduction the reasons to approach architectural history research from a framework that is more inclusive or cross-cultural. The explanation should clarify that the framework is a reaction to Eurocentrism, a paradigm that has dominated the majority of architectural historiography. The period span for the research should include the architectural historical documentation, starting with the natives that were on the six former Netherlands Antilles prior to colonisation, up to and including the present day. "The present day" refers to the year of publication or several years before publishing the research. It is crucial to include historic architecture built in the last decades of the twentieth century and the first decade of the twenty-first century. New architectural developments in design and forms began arising during that period. Furthermore, architectural historic research of this period could compare if the climatological circumstances may or may not have had any influence.[207] Additionally, socio-cultural, economic and political developments have also possibly played a large role in architectural developments.

The second step focuses on data collection through field surveys, sampling the widest possible variety of buildings on each island, with the help of existing publications. The buildings could be grouped together based on major types, such us government buildings,

[206] Edwards, "The first Comparative studies of Caribbean architecture," 175.

[207] For instance, with the introduction of air-conditioning, the cooling of the interior no longer depends on the architectural forms of the building.

schools, churches and houses, in order to document the inter-type and intra-type of buildings. This means that building types, such as huts and outbuildings would not be left out because of aesthetic reasons or other prejudices.[208] In this second step, Waisman's first step could also be partially included, focusing on the building itself: Its form, structure, function and the relationship between the building and its environment.

Examination of historic documents and archive materials are part of the third step, to establish knowledge for further analyses.[209] Waisman's second step should also be included, which is a more detailed research of the architecture. Important details to record include: Processes of planning and construction, possible architectural theories, and social needs and cultural developments on each island of the former Netherlands Antilles.

Edwards noted that the examination of historic documents and archive materials is difficult in the Caribbean, because of the scattered archival sources.[210] Since the government of the former Netherlands Antilles was seated on Curaçao, archival sources of are mostly available at the National Archives of Curaçao. The National Archives includes in particular archives from colonisation onwards on the formation of the Netherlands Antilles. Several archival sources are also partially available in the Netherlands. Locally, such as on Aruba, a majority of archival sources are not digitalised, and in turn does not facilitate historical research. Moreover, archival sources are not protected from hazardous events that could lead to losses of the archives.

There is one crucial part of this step that Edwards has left out: Oral history. To take Aruba as an example, most building traditions were not, and still are not documented. Instead, the information on building tradition are passed down to the next generation through verbal knowledge exchange.

The fourth and last step is to bring together all of acquired information for analyses and comparisons. Both the regional as well as the international scope should be included when analysing and comparing.[211] Not only should there be a detailed knowledge of architecture in Europe, North and South America, Africa and other Caribbean islands, but also a knowledge of the timing and causes of developments of local traditions of these islands. Additionally,

[208] Edwards, 175.
[209] Edwards, 176.
[210] Ibid.
[211] Edwards, 178.

when applying this fourth step to the former Netherlands Antilles islands, it is indeed necessary to also have a knowledge of the different historical development periods of the entire Caribbean.

Considering important factors

For the comparative method, the fourth step discussed in the previous section, there are four factors that need to be taken into consideration to realise a framework that is more inclusive: (1) Revision of terminologies, (2) inter-insular connection, (3) new observable architectural developments, and (4) new unobservable architectural developments.

Firstly, several terminologies that describe aspects of these six islands, and also the other Caribbean islands, need a revision. As is already known, the terminology and the political status of the former Netherlands Antilles no longer exists as of October 10, 2010. If the current Kingdom consists of four countries (The Netherlands, Aruba, Curaçao and St. Maarten) why should it still be justifiable to put "former" in front of "Netherlands Antilles"? Looking back at history, these islands were also once called "*Curaçao en Onderhorigheden*," (Curaçao and Dependencies) prior to decolonisation.[212] The terminology was replaced by "the Netherlands Antilles", and later on as "the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba". A critical debate on the use of "the former Netherlands Antilles" or a new terminology, such as "Caribbean islands within the Kingdom", "BES-ABC" or "CABBES" islands, should not be disregarded. Henceforth, in this thesis the former Netherlands Antilles is referred to as "the six Caribbean islands within the Kingdom". This does not mean that the old terminologies should be banned either.

The debate on terminology revision could also be relevant when researching and writing on historic architecture the entire Caribbean. Terminologies that could be part of such a critical debate are "West Indies" or "West Indian" for the Anglophone Caribbean islands. Moreover, the affiliation of the Hispanophone Caribbean islands with Central and South America, also referred to as "Latin America and the Caribbean", could be part of the debate.

Another terminology revision should include the often confusing nautical terms "Leeward" and "Windward" as explained in the introduction. When writing on architectural history of the six Caribbean islands within the Kingdom, or of the entire Caribbean, the

[212] Gert Oostindie and Inge Klinkers, *Decolonising the Caribbean. Dutch Policies in a Comparative Perspective* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2003), 58, 60, 61,64, 65.

naming of a group of the islands should not depend on biased nautical terminologies that are based solely on a one-sided perspective of the user of the words. A possible solution could be to continue the use of the applied terms “Greater Antilles” and “Lesser Antilles”, or to group the islands based on the main language. However, it should be taken in consideration that the latter option is not applicable for all the islands in the Caribbean. The islands of Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao cannot be categorised as either Anglophone, Francophone or Hispanophone, because the main language spoken on the islands is *Papiamento* (Aruba) and *Papiamentu* (Bonaire and Curaçao).

The second factor that should be taken into consideration for the synthesis of historic architecture of the six Caribbean islands within the Kingdom, and also for the entire Caribbean, is the inter-insular connection. This inter-insular connection was a result of political and economic trade between islands in the Caribbean during the period prior to decolonisation, as mentioned by Temminck Groll and Klomp. However, in most discussed publications in the previous chapter, this inter-insular connection mostly referred to the transferring of political and economic aspects of wealthy Western European colonisers and their offspring born on the islands. In the publications there are almost no mentions of possible inter-insular socio-cultural transfer of architectural influences by slaves of African descent or the later creole middle or lower class locals. Further research should explore if inter-insular trade remained in the Caribbean after decolonisation. In particular, future research should explore if this inter-insular connection since decolonisation have had any influence on architecture of the six Caribbean islands within the Kingdom.

New observable developments in architecture based on international influences have also happened on the islands. This is the third factor that should be taken in consideration when writing on architectural history of the six Caribbean islands in the Kingdom. These architectural developments are almost wholly omitted from the discussed publications of the Caribbean islands within the Kingdom, except in the publications of Temminck Groll and Van Alphen, and Klooster and Bakker. One monograph that discusses new architectural development on Curaçao, is Ronald Gill’s 1999 *Een eeuw architectuur op Curaçao: de architectuur en stedenbouw van de twintigste eeuw op Curaçao*.[213] Writers of further research

[213] English translation: A century of architecture on Curaçao: the architecture and urbanism of the twentieth century on Curaçao. Consult “Further reading” list.

should be aware of Eurocentric pitfalls when researching, analysing and documenting new developments in architecture on the Caribbean islands in the Kingdom, especially because this topic deals with international influences. Writers should also encourage academic research for publishing monographs of new architectural developments on the islands. This way, an awareness is raised of preservation of these new architectural developments on the Caribbean islands within the Kingdom.

The fourth factor to take into consideration is also about architectural developments. However, these unobservable developments are not directly noticeable. As mentioned in the introduction, civilisations that have undergone an architectural aesthetic development "standstill", were either seen as insignificant for being included in architectural history, or were seen as inferior.

To bring this idea in relation to the Caribbean islands within the kingdom, Western European perspective could categorise Saba as a civilisation undergoing a "standstill" of architectural aesthetic developments. On Saba the government has recently introduced regulations for new buildings. According to the regulation, the cohesive and coherent image of typical architectural characteristics on Saba should be kept, even when new buildings are constructed.[214] The main reason to maintain this harmonious architectural image is related to tourism, a sector which the majority of the Caribbean islands depend on economically. Having one of the most cohesive and coherent styles of architecture in the Caribbean is what attracts tourists to Saba.[215] By introducing this regulation, the unity of the architectural image of Saba remains unchanged. The buildings are kept white-walled with red roof tiles, and with decorative elements on the balustrades, gables, finials and bargeboards (Figure 20).[216] However, the building methodology continues to develop according to modern technological advancements.

A critical debate on Saba's unobservable architectural developments should consider if it is justifiable to exclude it from architectural history. Nevertheless, from a perspective and research framework that is more inclusive, precisely this particular development of the architecture of Saba should be included in architectural history: It is influenced by economic developments that are crucial to the island.

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[214] "Tourism Strategic Plan For Saba," Saba Tourist Bureau, April 18, 2011, accessed July 18, 2016, http://sabatourism.com/pdf/Tplan2011.pdf, 2.
[215] Ibid.
[216] "Tourism Strategic Plan For Saba," 18.

These four steps based on and adapted from Edwards' and Waisman's approach, are a basic guide that could be applied or could have more steps or factors added to it. Furthermore, when researching historic architecture of the six Caribbean islands in the Kingdom of the Netherlands these steps and factors contribute to a multi-cultural and cross-cultural research framework.

Figure 20. Bird's eye view of The Bottom, capital of Saba.
By introducing the 2011 building regulations, the Saban government strives to maintain the unifying image of the historic architecture. For instance, new buildings must contain a red roof and white walls. (Photograph by Bryan van Putten, 2014).

Conclusion

The analysis of architectural historiography of Spain, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, indicate a correlation between the Eurocentric framework and the "period-styles" writing method, especially during the nineteenth and twentieth century. Eurocentrism within history of architecture was extremely rigid, that even Spain and the Netherlands as Western European countries did not completely fit in the Eurocentric framework. Spanish historical architecture was regarded as "mysterious and complex", and the Netherlands was marginalised and labelled as "unrepresentative" for Western European historic architecture.

The purpose of this thesis was to discover if this framework and writing method are also present in the architectural historiography of the six Caribbean islands within the Kingdom of the Netherlands. From the results of this epistemological study, it can be concluded that the majority of the discussed publications of the six Caribbean islands within the Kingdom of the Netherlands are indeed researched within a Eurocentric framework; especially the books published during the second half of the twentieth century. Contrary to the results of the European architectural historiography comparison, no correlation was found between the Eurocentric framework and the "period-styles" writing method in the historiography of architecture of the Caribbean islands within the Kingdom. The "period-styles" writing method was impossible to apply for architectural history of these six islands, because the architectural characteristics do not resemble the European architectural styles. However, a few books did refer to styles reminiscent of European stylistic influences. Unfortunately, a similar comprehensive historiography comparison of the Anglophone and Hispanophone Caribbean islands' architecture could not be realised, due to the unavailability of book publications, be it digitally or in libraries in the Netherlands. Nevertheless, with the few available book publications of these two island groups, it can be concluded from the analysis of comparison that the European labelling of styles are to a large extent applied for the historic architecture of the Hispanophone Caribbean islands. According to the authors of the publications, historic architecture of the Hispanophone Caribbean islands resembles European historical styles of architecture. This is in contrast with architectural historiography of the Anglophone Caribbean islands and the six Caribbean islands within the Kingdom; stylistic labels are not used when describing architectural history.

As already mentioned, the period-styles method was not applicable for the architectural historiography of the six Caribbean islands within the Kingdom. Nevertheless, from the analysis of this paper, there are still four aspects that have led to a limited representation of historic of these islands from the seventeenth through the first half of the twentieth century.

Firstly, the Eurocentric frameworks in book publications in especially the second half of the twentieth century, interpret the historic architecture of these islands from a Western European point of view. Different values and experiences of these islands are positioned as inferior in comparison to those of Western Europe, except for the values and experiences, and historical developments closely related to the Western European colonisers on the islands. This one-sided factual documenting of historic architecture of the islands is biased and does not represent architectural history in its totality within the period of the seventeenth through the first half of the twentieth century. Inhabitants on the islands from non-Western European descent and other social classes are also barely included in book publications as also having played an important role in intra-insular and inter-insular historical development of architecture. Similarly, architectural historiography of the other Caribbean islands, only documented one side of historic architecture.

Secondly, during the second half of the twentieth century, documenting historic architecture of the six Caribbean islands within the Kingdom aimed at preserving monuments. The majority of the monuments were related to the historical developments and events of the wealthy Western European colonisers, mostly Dutch. Taking the example of the built heritage in Surinam, where themajority of the Surinamese population relate the monuments of the historic inner city of Paramaribo to the traumatic historical events of the slave trade. Therefore, the majority of the Surinamese population do not accept these monuments as their heritage. This conflict can lead to a debate whether or not to exclude such monuments from architectural history of Surinam. The buildings and the traumatic events have indeed changed the culture in Paramaribo, but they should not be eliminated from history of architecture. On the contrary, the documenting of the traumatic historical events should be integrated into the history of architecture; not as a side note but as part of the whole text. Not only is architectural history included with this approach, but the population that is traumatised by such historical events could also experience a sense of recognition of the psychological fallacies of the slave trade.

The third aspect influencing the limited representation of the historic architecture, is the description of only architectural characteristic developments instead of including external factors such as socio-cultural and political-economic developments.

Lastly, the fourth aspect is the exclusion of new architectural developments of the first half of the twentieth century that are reminiscent to architecture of the Modern Movement.

In the United Kingdom, postcolonial theories challenged the status quo of architectural historiography. As such, architectural historians and other academics related to the field of architecture started to broaden the research scope. Proponents of the critical debates on Eurocentrism and the binaries in architectural history, have proposed a cross-cultural framework which is a more inclusive approach.

Likewise, the architectural historiography of the six Caribbean islands within the Kingdom published during the first decade of the twenty-first century has also undergone a development. The research framework has become more inclusive regarding external historical factors, such as socio-cultural ones. It is not certain if the authors of the discussed publications of the six Caribbean islands within the Kingdom were aware of the critical debates on Eurocentrism. This shift in approach within the research framework happened for both the Anglophone and the Hispanophone Caribbean islands. The writing method was more based on typology or on themes. Hobson opted for a framework focusing on both cross-cultural and multi-cultural aspects.

Introducing new perspectives, frameworks and writing methods, does not automatically mean that the previous ones should be discarded as invalid. Rather, the development of written history of architecture is history itself. Therefore, it should be used as an example inside and outside academia to stimulate critical debates and to learn how paradigms have shifted during recent decades.

Within the entire Caribbean, there is no coherent research method to bring together and to document the inter-insular and intra-insular historic architectural developments from a cross-cultural framework. The writing guide in chapter 5, serves as a basic guide researchers can consult when researching and writing on the historic architecture of the six Caribbean islands within the Kingdom. Nevertheless, this writing guide can also be consulted when researching historic architecture of the entire Caribbean. The writing guide also includes four factors that should be taken into consideration when researching the historic architecture of the six Caribbean islands within the Kingdom: Revision of confusing terminologies and Eurocentric terminologies dating from imperialism, inter-insular connectedness, new architectural developments on a global scale, the inclusion of unobservable architectural developments (such as the building methods regulation on Saba).

The results of research analyses and comparisons in this thesis, are a basis for the Caribbean islands to strive towards realising comprehensive cross-cultural research on history of architecture in the Caribbean. The emphasis of such research should be on connections, differences, and exchanges of cultures across the different islands and some coastal areas of the entire American continent. This is due to the fact that the architecture in this region developed as a result of this cross-culture phenomenon. Cross-cultural research framework should not subject certain developments as inferior or superior relative to other developments, as every community or nation developed in their own way.

With the results gained from this paper, the foundation Stichting Werelderfgoed Nederland should critically consider categorising Willemstad as Dutch World Heritage is a matter of a Eurocentric perspective interpreted in terms of the Dutch values and experiences. As mentioned in the introduction, the Kingdom of the Netherlands does not only consist of the Netherlands. The Kingdom of the Netherlands includes three other countries in the Caribbean Sea that have an equal status to the Netherlands. Therefore, the historic inner city of Willemstad is not a World Heritage in the Netherlands or *Werelderfgoed in Nederland*. It is a World Heritage of the country Curaçao. Both the World Heritage of Curaçao's historic inner city of Willemstad and the World Heritage of the Dutch Van Nelle Factory for instance, are part of the World Heritage of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. Thus, this thesis is also an urgent call for the Stichting Werelderfgoed Nederland to change its claim of "*Werelderfgoed in Nederland*" to "*Werelderfgoed in het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden"* (World Heritage of the Kingdom of the Netherlands).

Furthermore, academic programmes within the entire Kingdom of the Netherlands related to Architecture, especially the History of Architecture programme, should include critical debates on Eurocentrism and other postcolonial theories in their curriculum. As a result, students on both sides of the globe within the Kingdom of the Netherlands are trained to be aware and critical of limitations in the representation of historic architecture when a static paradigm is used as a research framework. Not only do these students gain knowledge on Western European architecture, including that of the Netherlands, but they also gain knowledge on architectural history of the Caribbean countries within the Kingdom with a less biased view. Additionally, the four countries in the Kingdom of the Netherlands should strengthen their collaboration on recent findings related to architectural history.

After all, if the 1954 Charter for the Kingdom of the Netherlands declared all countries in the Kingdom to have an equal position, the history of architecture within the Kingdom of the Netherlands should be treated in such a manner. In other words, the sharing of academic knowledge of historic architecture between all four countries should be encouraged and emphasised; therefore, limiting the biased paradigm of Eurocentrism.

Suggestions for further research

Due to the limitations of the study, there are four suggestions for possible further researches.

(1) An example could be an expansion of this paper's research topic to include architectural historiography developments in the Caribbean. Thus, comparing architectural historiography of the six Caribbean islands within the Kingdom with that of the Anglophone, Francophone and Hispanophone Caribbean islands.

(2) A cross-cultural research on the six Caribbean islands within the Kingdom or the entire Caribbean could clarify a possible relationship between architectural and social function(s) of the "galleries", "verandah" and "veranda". In such a research, other architectural characteristics that are similar or different on all the six islands could be included, for instance the hurricane resistant houses.

(3) Since this thesis has not included architectural historiography of the Francophone Caribbean islands, a follow-up research should include historic architectural developments of these islands and their connectedness with the rest of the Caribbean. An example for a research topic could be the use of cast iron for several prominent buildings on the Francophone Caribbean islands such as Martinique and Guadeloupe. Furthermore, research could clarify if this material influenced the historic architecture on other Caribbean islands.

(4) The introduction of new architectural developments on the six Caribbean islands within the Kingdom or within the entire Caribbean reminiscent of the Modern Movement are rarely mentioned in the book publications discussed in this paper. Therefore, further research should put more emphasis on possible architectural influences of the Modern Movement on the Caribbean islands. Additionally, further research could discuss if the theories of the Modern Movement were also applied on the islands in the Caribbean; or if the architectural characteristics are solely intended as façade architecture.

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